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SINCE PRINCE CAROL of Rumania has become a front-page favorite it is important that we should have a clear idea of the causes of his recent renunciation of the throne. A summary of the news should help:

1. Carol renounced the throne out of loyalty to Zizi Lambrino, his morganatic wife and the mother of three of his children.

2. Carol renounced his throne for love of a beautiful Italian woman known as the "Princess Lupescu," who has been registered at the same hotel in Milan.

3. Carol was forced to abdicate because of his part in intrigues directed against his father, King Ferdinand.

4. Carol supported his father against the ruling clique headed by Premier Bratianu, Queen Marie, and her favorite, Barbu Stirbey. The King used the Prince's letter of abdication as a threat against the power of the Queen and her friends—and his bluff was called.

5. Carol resigned as the result of certain airplane scandals in which he was involved.

6. Carol retired in order to enter the airplane business.

7. Carol plans to head a Fascist revolt in Rumania.

8. Carol's female companion, "Princess Lupescu," is none other than his morganatic wife, Zizi, in disguise.

9. The "Princess Lupescu" is not a princess but is the daughter of a Rumanian merchant and the wife of a Rumanian army officer.

10. The lady in the case is neither Zizi nor Madame Lupescu, but Madame Tampeanu, also the wife of a Rumanian army officer; and the whole trouble started when she threw a bouquet of roses into the Prince's car at the recent races in Bucharest.

11. Carol abdicated on account of his connection with the recent Hungarian counterfeiting scandal.

There, that tells the whole story. It is important to have the facts straight in regard to great international events.

PRESTO! SAID THE MODERN CAESAR, and found himself sitting on the top of Italy's Government, with only the King for company and the voice of the Opposition no longer heard in the land. It is perhaps only natural that Signor Mussolini, having achieved this triumph with comparatively little trouble, should consider his powers above the ordinary. Accordingly, without pausing for breath, he has issued an order which will test his capacities to the utmost: in five years Rome is to be restored to its majesty under Augustus. Just like that. The Theater of Marcellus, the Capitol, the Pantheon are to be surrounded by great open squares, with broad avenues leading to them; new schools, houses, baths, gardens, and playgrounds for good Fascists are to be prepared; "vast, well-ordered, powerful . . . Rome must again become the wonder of the whole world." But why stop there? There is the Forum, thirty feet below the level of the modern city. Why not reduce Rome to its old level, restore the ancient temples, including the sublime Temple of Castor and Pollux, of whose former magnificence only three noble columns are left, banish the Christians who demolished all this grandeur, reline the endless corridors of the Palatine with marble, hang them with silk and fill them with slaves, and move in, Emperor Benito the Great, to rule fittingly over all? While this is being done by competent artisans under the master's eye, there is another little matter that might be attended to; one troublesome voice is still lifted in Rome, one voice that Augustus certainly would not have tolerated. From the Vatican still comes defiance of the Fascist Government; the Holy See is not yet ready to accept violence as a creed or Mussolini as a dictator. And to the firm and unequivocal stand taken by the *Osservatore Romano*, the official Vatican organ, the Government can only reply a little timidly that it "regrets" that such statements should be printed.

GRADUALLY THE FACTS about the United States Tariff Commission are coming to light. Senator Norris has again rendered a great public service by revealing the conditions under which David J. Lewis, after he had signed the recommendation for a lower rate on sugar, declined what was virtually a bribe from the President of the United States. The bribe was his job as commissioner; the terms were that he should write his resignation, to be made effective whenever Mr. Coolidge saw fit. In other words, he could continue to draw $7,500 a year from the federal Treasury if he would conform to the President's extortionate tariff views and help fatten the chief contributors to his campaign fund. That Mr. Lewis refused, and in consequence was kicked out of the commission, does him honor. But what shall we say of a President who thus flouts the law and attempts to bludgeon a high appointive official into dishonesty? Let us hope the tariff bomb Mr. Costigan

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threw, which is discussed elsewhere in this issue, will shake loose more facts. For the Lewis case does not stand alone.

COMPULSORY MILITARY TRAINING for students in our schools and colleges has been having a hard time of it lately. The Interdenominational Student Conference at Evanston, Illinois, passed resolutions against it, while in Cleveland the Board of Education has voted to eliminate military training entirely from the high schools of the city. This courageous action was taken by a vote of 6 to 1 despite the advice of Newton D. Baker, a flood of oratory from various so-called patriotic organizations, and opposition from an influential section of the press. Another plea against Prussianization comes from Atlantic City, where the convention of the Women's Boards of Foreign Missions went on record as against military training camps for young men. Events like these have naturally been annoying to our militarists; and they have been annoyed. The National Security League, for instance, has shown its irritation by calling for the resignation of one of its directors, Professor William Bradley Otis of the College of the City of New York, because he opposed the continuance of compulsory drill when the faculty met recently to pass upon the question. We congratulate Professor Otis.

THE FANTASTIC and staggering sums now spent by the Government and its assistant, the taxpayer, for the enforcement of laws in the United States are not large enough, apparently, for certain of our worthy citizens. They propose a law for the registration and deportation of aliens, among the provisions of which is the finger-printing of the 8,000,000 aliens already in this country and of those who shall enter in the future. How this law is to be enforced, of course, the bill does not say, nor does it contain any estimate of the cost of such a proceeding. Presumably the alien, having read about the new measure in the morning paper, will dutifully present himself for registration at the proper time and place; he will, that is, if human nature executes a complete right-about-face overnight. Or maybe a corps of busy bees in the shape of enforcement clerks will fly up and down the land, unerringly picking out the alien from the citizen, extracting from him the proper information and writing it down correctly in a little book, all out of pure love for the government and without thought of pecuniary emolument. But this sort of thing has not happened to date. Our immigration laws should be revised: the proposed amendments for admitting the alien relatives of citizens and persons who are in process of becoming citizens, without quota restrictions, should be adopted; the Japanese exclusion legislation should be abolished; and the proposal for registration should be dropped into the waste-basket where it belongs.

THE SEATING OF GERALD P. NYE of North Dakota by the Senate was the surprise of the present session. On their face the legal arguments against the validity of the appointment were impressive. We cannot, however, fail to be convinced when lawyers of the high standing of Senators Borah and Norris, who in such matters can be trusted to put conscience and principle and legal authority above partisanship, vote to seat Mr. Nye. We are content to take their word for it that the State of North Dakota is entitled to be represented by two Senators until a new election can be held. Of Mr. Nye, who is as young as Senator La Follette, we hear only favorable things. He has made an excellent impression in Washington and has shown his colors by openly declaring himself a Progressive Republican. His accession has given fresh courage to the small progressive group and has correspondingly disturbed the Coolidge regulars who thought that their control of the Senate would be almost complete.

INDEED, THE REGULAR REPUBLICAN machine has reason for anger. Mr. Nye was elected by two votes only because there were a number of absentees when the vote was taken. Mr. La Follette's assignment to Republican committees after Senator Butler had declared that it would never, never take place still rankles with the Old Guard. Meanwhile the barrage of the opposition to Cooldigeism is not only not checked but grows in volume. On top of the Mellon-Donovan revelations has come the charge that no less than one hundred employees who do not figure in the civil-service list have been surreptitiously carried on the pay roll of that mass of rottenness, the Alien Property Custodian's Office. One of these secret employees on the pay roll up to last fall was Miss Mary Randolph, private secretary to the President's wife! Like the others, she was paid by a tax on the seized German property. It is true that the present Alien Property Custodian declares that the roll is now purged of Miss Randolph and all the rest, but as a sample of what has been going on under Mr. Coolidge this is striking. In the Senate Mr. La Follette has properly demanded of the Secretary of State the turning over to the Senate of everything relating to the situation created by the threat of the United States to withdraw its recognition of Mexico if that government does not remodel some of its laws to suit our taste. Senator Shipstead has demanded of the State Department the facts as to its activities in relation to the World Court. Finally, the Federal Trade Commission has been forced to inquire again into the Mellon aluminum trust, this time on complaint of unfair competition.

A NEWS AGENCY reports that while a week ago the acceptance of the World Court seemed absolutely safe, "It is now seriously in danger, and there is an even chance that it will be defeated." Senator Copeland says that he would like to get out of the promise he has given to vote for the Court. Senators Fernald of Maine and Williams of Missouri have come out against it. The fate of the proposal now depends upon the adoption of cloture in the Senate. If that can be put through the proposal can be passed; if not, it is extremely doubtful whether the Court will come to a vote at this session of Congress. Senator Shipstead in his attack upon the Court said: "It is organized for war; it is an organization for carrying on war against any state which refuses to bow to its will."

WHEN THE AMALGAMATED Clothing Workers of America opened in 1923 the first commercial bank to be established by labor in New York City even the most sanguine could hardly hope that within two and a half years deposits would have increased from half a million dollars to thirteen times that amount. But that has happened, and the Amalgamated Bank of New York has now recognized that growth by moving from its original quarters in the second story of an old building on East Fourteenth Street to the ground floor of the Tiffany Building on the west side of Union Square. This building, which forty years ago was identified with all that was most aristocratic

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in the city's business, has now passed by a turn of fate into the hands of a labor union made up chiefly of foreign-born proletarians. Most important about the bank, though, is the fact that it is a limited-dividend corporation, the profits of which cannot go above 10 per cent. In this day of extortionate and almost inconceivable profits by many other financial institutions this fact is of cardinal importance in entitling the Amalgamated Bank to public support.

HIGHLY FLATTERING to Americans is the movement in England, sponsored by Lord Bledisloe, to make a national park after our model by purchasing the Forest of Dean and the Wye Valley as a public playground. Lord Bledisloe is not only parliamentary secretary to the Minister of Agriculture, he is one of the four Verderers who still hold court in the ancient Speech House in the Forest of Dean to hear cases of "vert and venison"—although there are now no deer left in the forest. The Speech House itself was formerly the house of Sir Walter Raleigh; the half dozen collieries are tucked out of sight in the woods and besides them there are only a few small hamlets. The Manchester *Guardian* declares that there is here "a finer combination of forest, hill, lake, and river scenery than in any other part of England," all of which is coupled with archaeological treasures dating back to the Romans. The new government School of Forestry is already established in this domain. As for the Wye Valley, it contains such famous places as Tintern Abbey and Symonds Yat. Lord Bledisloe has chosen our Yosemite Park as the model to be followed, and believes that the park could be made self-supporting if camping facilities were provided at reasonable prices and the annual timber-cut utilized. Finally he would have the four Verderers once more given worth-while duties by having them charged with the administration of the park after it is acquired.

WHEN WE ANNOUNCED last spring a prize contest for college students who should spend their summer vacation at work in factories or mines, on farms or railroads, one of our reasons was to encourage what we described as "experiments in facing the realities of industrial America." Capital and labor, we felt, were textbook abstractions to most students; and the note of surprise which dominated the accounts they eventually sent us justified our impression. Whatever the students may have given to their jobs, the jobs gave them a glimpse of an entirely new world. The fatigue of merely carrying a heavy pick and shovel to the place where they are to be used; the disgust and nausea after a day among the odors of a hot, dirty restaurant kitchen; at the end of a week of physical labor the weariness that makes the lightest reading an impossible effort—these are illuminating experiences to students who feel, as some of the contestants did at first, that workers are made of different clay from themselves. The contest was judged by Florence Kelley of the National Consumers' League, Pierrepont B. Noyes of the Oneida Community, Jerome Davis of the faculty of Yale University, Oswald Garrison Villard, editor of *The Nation*, and in place of President Johnston of the Machinists' Union, whose illness prevented him from serving, Leo Wolman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. They awarded the first prize of $125 to Margaret Sutherland of Antioch College, whose essay will appear in next week's *Nation*, the second prize of $75 to Robert Leeper of Allegheny College, and the third prize of $25 to A. George Purdue of Yale University.

Washington—Man or Waxwork?

AT a dinner given by the Sons of the American Revolution Rupert Hughes declared George Washington was "a great card-player, a distiller of whiskey, and a champion curser, and that he danced for three hours without stopping"; also that Washington "never prayed and persistently avoided any participation in communion." About Valley Forge Mr. Hughes was equally annoying. He said that the worst of the suffering there was caused by our ancestral war profiteers, and not by the cold weather.

Whatever else he said is not recorded, as his speech came to a close amid imprecations. But why? All that Mr. Hughes said is a commonplace to the student of history. The great George Washington himself would have no doubt been greatly astonished at the indignation of the Sons. Washington did own and operate a whiskey distillery; it was one of the most profitable enterprises on his Mount Vernon estate. In Haworth's book on Washington as a farmer you will find an account of its operation and a partial record of its profits. The New York Public Library has a recipe left by Washington for making "small beer." He drank wine with his meals, being especially fond of Madeira. He swore, on occasion, like a cavalry sergeant. His career lay in the midst of infinite exasperations and stupidities, and many persons will prefer to think of him as a human being rather than as a waxwork.

Land-owning and card-playing appear to have been among his chief pursuits. The acquisition of land was a sort of passion with him, and he was jealous of every encroachment on his rights as an owner. After he had served his two terms as President we find him making a trip to western Pennsylvania and evicting squatters from land which he owned but had never seen—and which they had cleared and settled. In reading his letters and diaries one is impressed by the huge amount of card-playing that he managed to crowd into one life. Taken altogether, he must have spent years at the card table. "At home all day over cards," his diary says at one point. He liked to play for money, but only for small amounts. "We danced all night," is another record in his diary.

Most of us think of Valley Forge as a place where the army froze while Washington prayed. There was no danger of the army freezing at Valley Forge. The troops were housed in warm huts, and there was plenty of wood to burn. But at times they almost starved, although the country round about was full of food. The farmers sent their grain and meat to Philadelphia and sold these provisions to the British army because the British paid in gold and paid more than the Americans. Washington's appeals to the patriotism of the Pennsylvania people were unavailing, so in the last resort he sent a column under General Greene to seize food in the neighboring counties. This caused a tremendous uproar among the profiteers.

Washington was cold in manner and rather dull. He had no delicate fancies, no flights of imagination. He had no conception of democracy, or of a society founded on anything but property. His strength lay in fortitude—in strength of will—combined with caution and a hard, do-it-today practicality. He had a pompous person, in a way, and was easily wounded by slights to his vanity. When he was elected President he wanted to be called "His Mightiness the President," and he never forgave the Speaker of the House for making facetious remarks on the subject.

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The Coal Crisis—Whose Fault?

A FEW days ago among other valuables disposed of at an auction sale of household goods were four tons of hard coal. The neighbors crowded around and the bidding was lively. The lot was finally knocked down for $139—nearly $35 a ton! Meanwhile the operators and the miners have walked out of the Union League Club in New York City with nothing remaining of their two weeks' conference but bitter statements—each side accusing the other of deadlocking further negotiations. The operators charge the miners, and particularly Mr. Lewis, with obstinate obstruction because of refusal to "arbitrate." Mr. Lewis charges the operators with a deliberate muddling of the word "arbitration"; with refusal to show their accounting records; with no willingness to make concessions in spite of the large concessions already made by the miners; with being governed by a minority group. And there we are. The strike has nearly completed its fifth month, with no settlement in sight. To January 1, according to an estimate of the New York *Times*, the miners had lost $113,850,000 in wages and the nation had lost 55,000,000 tons of potential coal.

The last agreement terminated on September 1, 1925, after running for two years. Early in July the miners formulated their proposal for a new agreement. It called primarily for a 10 per cent increase in wages for contract workers, $1 a day increase for day workers, and for the check-off—a method by which the operator collects union dues on pay-roll days. Negotiations between the two sides opened on July 9. The operators asked the miners to agree to arbitration if direct negotiations failed. The miners refused—on grounds presently to be explained. Amidst the pleasures of Atlantic City the wrangling went on for weeks. All to no purpose; and on September 1 the men left the pits. Since that date various plans have been put forward by third parties, looking toward a settlement. The proposal of Governor Pinchot was accepted by the miners but spurned by the operators. Neither side took much cognizance of the so-called Engineers' Plan, or the plan proposed by the super-power committee of the League for Industrial Democracy. On December 29 operators and miners went into conference again in New York, and the chairman, Alvan Markle, led off with a plan for arbitration and publicity of accounting records which sounded reasonable. In acceding to its principles the operators appear to have made a genuine concession. But the miners refused to accept it. On January 12 the conference broke up as we have seen.

On the face of it the operators have the best case before the bar of public opinion. Their stout stand for arbitration, their considerable concession in allowing daylight on the accounting records under the Markle scheme, seem both fair and reasonable. Why will not the miners arbitrate? Why are they so pig-headed? What are they afraid of? Well, this is what they are afraid of: In the first place, according to Mr. Lewis, arbitration covering wages only is a false arbitration. It passes upon and delimits the human life of 150,000 miners, leaving the delimiting of prices—and hence the *property* rights of the owners—completely outside the picture. Life is to be arbitrated but not property. Real arbitration, says the miners' chief, must comprehend both. If the miners are to have their wages fixed, operators must have their prices and profits restrained. On such a basis the miners are willing to go into arbitration at the drop of the hat. They would welcome any decision for government regulation of profits and wages—foregoing their demands for a 10 per cent increase and modifying their demands for the check-off. They apparently object to the Markle plan because, while the books of the operator would be shown, arbitration would apply to wage only.

Secondly, the miners fear wage arbitration because of its disastrous results in the 1919 settlement. The story they tell is this: A double-checked statistical survey showed that a 27 per cent increase in wages was in order. The findings of the impartial statistician were duly presented to the arbitration board of three—a miner, an operator, a representative of the public. The public member was ready to vote for the 27 per cent increase and said as much. After a midnight session with the operator member, he voted for only a 17 per cent increase. The miners claim that the psychology of a "public" member is usually identical with that of the operator, and foreign to that of the miner. No matter how honest, how fair, how sincere the third member tries to be, he just naturally gravitates to the operator's point of view; as educated men, fellow members of the dominant class, their habit patterns run in pairs and they unconsciously stick together.

It is now time to refresh our memory as to certain profound observations of President Coolidge—ukases delivered from the summer capital while the Atlantic City negotiations were in process. *The Nation* has dwelt on them before and will continue to dwell on them. There is a growing realization that the only way out of this industrial hari-kari in anthracite is for the President to seize the sword which Roosevelt and Wilson brandished in earlier deadlocks and settle the strike by government intervention. With the findings of the 1922 Coal Commission at hand, the possibilities of a just and lasting settlement are greatly improved. The White House maintains an impenetrable silence and a distinguished inability to do anything to date. But when it looked as if the miners and operators must come to some agreement, the President, through his official spokesman, declared himself not only ready to take up the sword but apparently to use tanks and Big Berthas as well:

> "The government has decided on positive steps to be taken in case of a coal strike."
>
> A plan has been thought out "which President Coolidge believes will be effective in the event the miners and operators fail to reach a settlement by the end of August."
>
> The President is "determined to prevent a coal strike. . . . He has let the operators know that he will exert all the pressure possible to keep the hard-coal mines operating and prevent the condition of three years ago when the public suffered greatly."
>
> "It is thought by those who know him well that the plan will be of a revolutionary nature."

These are fine words; the time has come to make them good. The public has suffered greatly, and every day the suffering grows. The hardships of miners' wives and children will shortly reach the proportions of a tragedy. The hour has struck for President Coolidge to do something if he has it in him.

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Russia's War Guilt Becomes Plainer

JUST before Christmas Associated Press newspapers announced what was said to be the sensational disclosure of a hitherto unknown document proving that Russia was guiltless in 1914 and desirous of avoiding hostilities. The New York *Times* carried half a column under the headline: "Prove Russia Tried to Avert Great War." This supposedly startling document is the minutes of the Russian Ministerial Conference of July 24, 1914, and it is published in the January issue of *Current History*, together with an editorial introduction by Robert C. Binkley, librarian of Stanford University. It is alleged to prove that "the original intent of the Russian Government (perhaps, by implication, of the French Government also) was honorable and pacific."

What are the facts in the case? While it is, perhaps, true that this is the first time that the document has been published in full in English, its contents have been known by scholars for some time. The decisions of this conference are summarized in detail in the "Diary" of Baron M. F. Schilling, Chief of Chancellery of the Russian Foreign Office in 1914 (English edition, pp. 30-31), which was published in German nearly two years ago and appeared in an English edition early last year. So much for the novelty of the information, though we may be grateful to Mr. Binkley for giving us the text in English in easily accessible form.

The implications of the document are even further from the assertions in the article and the Associated Press dispatch. Instead of being a proof of Russian desire for peace, it presents evidence to the contrary, demonstrating that Russia took measures for mobilization a day earlier than we hitherto had supposed. In 1920 Professor Fay could find no evidence for mobilization measures before the conference on the afternoon of the 25th. We now know that the moment Russia learned of the terms of the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia, and before Serbia had an opportunity to reply, she began the preparation for those military measures which inevitably led to the European War. The ministers, with the Czar's approval, authorized the mobilization of the four great military districts of central and southern Russia, discussed in the secret Crown Council of February 8, 1914, and of the Baltic and Black Sea fleets. We know from the secret Austrian documents that Austria had planned to make the demands upon Serbia so extreme that Serbia would be unlikely to accede, with the result that Austria would intervene to punish Serbia by armed force. But the Russians did not know this at the time.

As to the alleged conciliatory plans urged upon Serbia, these were probably subterfuge. Russia did not want Serbia to declare war on Austria for several reasons. It would have put Serbia in a bad light before European opinion, which was still shocked at the assassination of the Archduke, and would have greatly handicapped Russia in her plan of intervention in behalf of Serbia. Also it would have precipitated hostilities too soon for Russia.

This ardent desire of the French and Russians to gain time is seen in the fact that the most insistent demand of both governments, as soon as they learned the terms of the Austrian ultimatum, was that Serbia have more than forty-eight hours to prepare her reply. Quite as illuminating, as bearing upon the Serbian reply, is the knowledge we now possess that *it was drafted in the French Foreign Office* at Paris by the deputy political director, Berthelot.

To have had Serbia make an appeal to the Great Powers would have been a gesture of real import for propaganda, similar to the appeal of Belgium which Sir Edward Grey later wormed out of that country after an effort. Still further, we cannot be sure that the words of advice to the Serbians were not for public consumption only. At least, we know that the Serbians ordered the mobilization of their entire army three hours before they sent the messenger to Austria to deliver the answer to the ultimatum.

Finally, as even Mr. Binkley admits, the guilt of Russia is not to be established or demolished by one document. It rests upon the plans of Izvolski from 1908 to 1914; on the memorandum of Sazonov to the Czar on December 8, 1913, telling him that Russia must have the Straits and that they could not be secured without European complications leading to a general war; on the minutes of the secret Crown Council of February 8, 1914, at which the Russians decided not to strike Turkey unaided but to await the expected general European war; upon Sazonov's decision to order Russian general mobilization on July 29, successfully executed the next day, when Germany's pressure on Austria was at its height and when there was every prospect for a pacific settlement; upon the full admission of Dobrorolski that the Russian authorities knew that nothing on earth could stop a European war after the mobilization order was sent out on July 30; upon Sazonov's declaration to England and France on July 27 that he would tolerate no moderating influence upon the Russian program; and upon Izvolski's proud boast in early August, 1914, "C'est *ma* guerre!" How much good faith there was in Sazonov's proposals for European conferences in 1914 is well illustrated by the fact that his most insistent plea for a conference came late on July 31, two days after he had determined upon war and twenty-four hours after he had authorized the order which meant irrevocable war. Sazonov has been afforded two opportunities recently to defend himself against the charge that he precipitated the European War through the premature and unjustifiable Russian mobilization, but even he has not cited this Ministerial Conference of the 24th as evidence in his behalf. Much more relevant and convincing is Sazonov's own statement in 1916:

> Herr Bethmann-Hollweg maintains that France and Russia would never have dared to accept the challenge of Germany if they had not been sure of the support of England. But the real political situation was the following, even if the Chancellor will not admit it: in reality France and Russia, notwithstanding their profound love for peace and their sincere efforts to avoid bloodshed, had decided to break the pride of Germany at any price and to make her stop, once for all, treading on the toes of her neighbors.

But we do not have to rely upon general argument or circumstantial evidence to prove the war-like intentions of Russia and France from the 24th onward. General Dobrorolski in his authoritative memoir on the mobilization of the Russian army (p. 21) tells us that from the point of view of the Russian General Staff "war had been a certainty" from the 24th "onward." General measures preparatory to war were proclaimed on the 26th.

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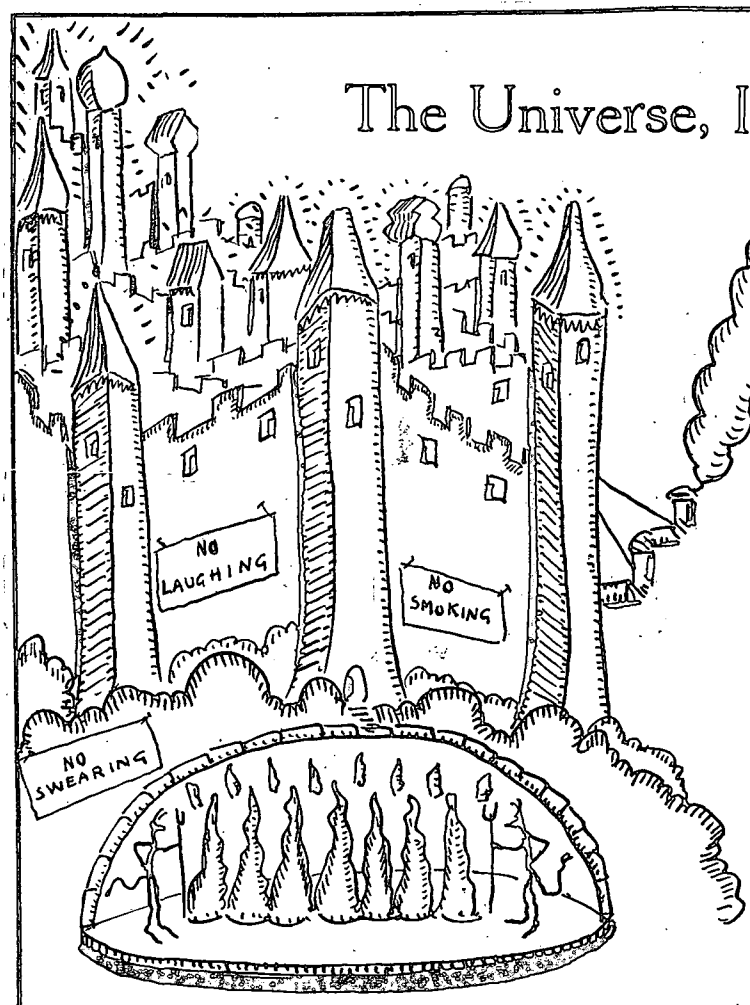
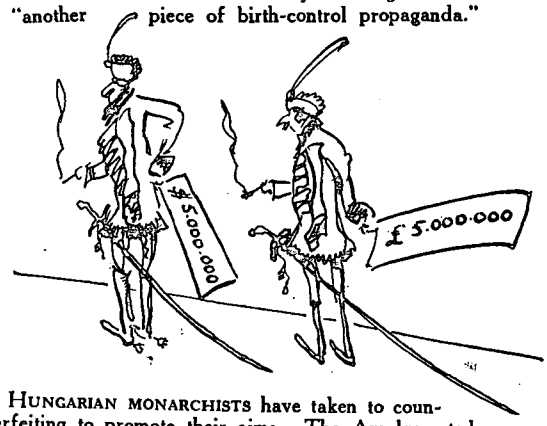
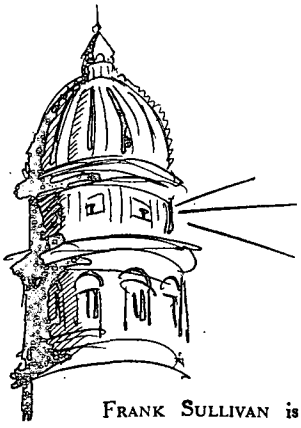


A RUMOR FROM the Celestial Fields indicates that a recent arrival has brought about a consolidation of Heaven and Hell in such a way "as to retain the best qualities of both." It is added, however, that the Good Lord has refused the vice-presidency of the new concern.

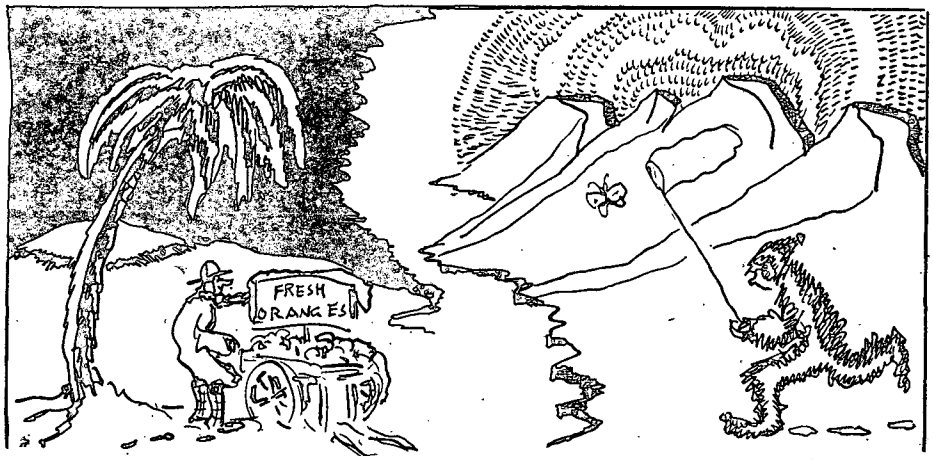
IN NEW YORK a drunken chauffeur celebrated New Year's Day by murdering his wife and four children with a baseball bat. The story is being denounced as "another piece of birth-control propaganda."



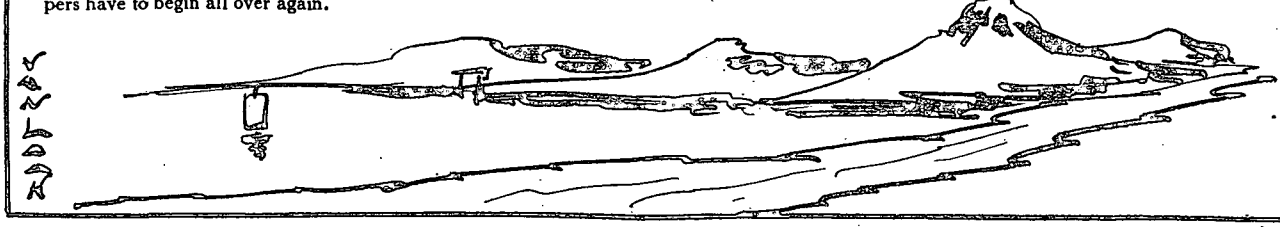
HUNGARIAN MONARCHISTS have taken to counterfeiting to promote their aims. The Amalgamated Crooks of Greater New York have cabled congratulations.



FRANK SULLIVAN is writing for the New York *World* and 1,247,892 people who had just sworn off reading the papers have to begin all over again.



CALIFORNIA IS FREEZING and in Alaska the Eskimos are chasing butterflies. Undoubtedly Tokio is once more to blame and Washington will be asked to protest against "the insidious subversion of the Japanese current."



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Unemployment in England

By JOHN A. HOBSON

A TRADE depression of unprecedented duration and intensity has held Britain in its grip ever since the brief post-war boom burst at the close of 1920. The statistics of unemployment during these five years show several brief periods of partial recovery. From the nadir of June, 1921, when the unemployed figure, reinforced by strikes, registered 23.1 per cent of trade-union members, we floundered on through 1922, with a figure varying between 16 and 14 per cent, to drop in 1923 to an average of about 11 per cent. Early in 1924 a distinct revival was indicated, which brought down unemployment to 7.2 per cent in June; but the figure soon fell back a little, and through the rest of that year there was a worsening of the position, passing from 8 to 9 per cent. The setback grew in strength until last June, since when a slight and slow recovery has been recorded, the average for October standing at 11.3. This recent improvement, which still leaves our volume of unemployed at some 1,200,000, is, however, less significant than it appears, because there has been some transfer from the unemployment-insurance lists to the outdoor relief of the poor law.

In other words, there are as yet no clear signs of any substantial improvement. So far as unemployment goes we are bumping along a bottom that is distinctly lower than ever before recorded in our industrial history. And yet within my lifetime I have known several depressions in which far more misery and active disturbance have prevailed among the workers. The operation of the insurance acts, which now cover nearly all the organized trades of the country, has greatly alleviated the stress of the situation; and, taken in conjunction with the rent restriction acts and a looser administration of the poor law, has bought off exasperation and despair which might easily have brought a violent insurrection. Among the ignorant well-to-do (harassed by high taxation, high prices, and a shortage of domestic service) there prevails a widespread conviction that the "dole" (insurance relief) is responsible for most of the unemployment, for "Why should a person work when he or she can be kept comfortable in idleness at the expense of others?"

There is no substance in this general charge. It has recently been examined and rebutted by an official committee of inquiry. In the first place, the insurance relief is in part the proceeds of the weekly deductions from their wages when they work. Secondly, the trade unions and the official employment bureaus are interested in stopping all cases of imposture and malingering and, as they have close access to the facts in each case, cannot make many errors. Thirdly, the rate of unemployed allowances is, except in a few unskilled trades, much lower than the ordinary weekly earnings for work done. While, therefore, there must be among the recipients of the dole a certain number of idlers who could get work if they were willing, the quantity is negligible in relation to the size of the problem. There is no lack of applicants for any job that is going.

Some difficulty and some wastage may be attributed to the obstacles set by trade unions in the way of transfers of labor from one trade to another. It is likely that the building trades could usefully absorb some labor from outside their ranks, if they would run the risks of an oversupply such as prevailed thirty years ago. But to no other considerable trade does this apply. The problem which presents itself to employers is that of a deficiency of markets for the goods which they could produce with their available plant and labor, at a price which would cover costs of production and yield a minimum profit. The term "costs of production" bulks big in any considered approach to such a problem, and here a clear rift appears in public opinion. Most employers hold that wages should come down, in order that England may resume the place in the world's trade she held before the war. Most workers insist that a fall of wages, besides the injury it would inflict on their standard of living, would, by reducing the purchasing power of the people, diminish the volume of consumption and so produce more unemployment in trades supplying the home market. These informed advocates also insist that more science, better organization, and more enlightened finance would enable industry to make economies of production adequate to lower costs without taking it out of labor. They point especially to America, where high wages have notoriously stimulated greater use of machinery and other economies of overhead charges, enabling firms to outcompete low-waged competitors in many lines of manufacture. It is common knowledge that, in the application of electrical equipment for industry, transport, agriculture, and domestic uses, we have much to learn, not only from America but from several continental countries. We were sluggish in new enterprises before the war, and we are not rich enough now to embark quickly on new expensive improvements.

A good deal of our present trouble is due, however, to causes directly connected with the war. The distribution of our unemployment shows that the trades suffering most are iron and steel, ship-building, engineering, the miscellaneous metals, and mining. Now, these trades have been injuriously affected in two ways. They were excessively stimulated and overdeveloped, both with capital and labor, for war purposes, so that in any case the return of peace would have deflated them. Secondly, they are especially injured by the reduced purchasing power of most other countries, the contraction of the world market due to the damages and dislocations of industry and finance during and following the war. For these are among our great export trades, and the shrinkage in value, still more in volume, of our export trade is universally recognized as a chief direct cause of the persistency of the trade depression. About 30 per cent of our total production is normally designed for export; and as the reduction of our exports during the past two years cannot be put at less than 25 per cent, it is evident that this fact is enough in itself to account for the greater part of our unemployment. Allowance here ought doubtless to be made for some substitution of home sales for foreign sales. But to us it appears as if the recovery of our pre-war position in the world market were essential to our economic safety and success. The intensified nationalism not only in Europe but in Asia, a political war product, has brought with it

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an economic policy of self-sufficiency, which by protective tariffs and subsidies seeks artificially to foster home industries and to reduce foreign-trade relations to a minimum.

It is probable that even before the war the advance made by other nations along the road of capitalist enterprises was tending to diminish our supremacy in the main lines of export and of transport. But the total quota of foreign trade was so large that a smaller proportionate holding of it would have sufficed for our needs. And this is still the answer we may make to our pessimists. If the world can be restored to peace and prosperity, rid of the huge wastes on arms and wars, with the enlargement of every sort of international intercourse that would ensue, our share of export trade would doubtless suffice to meet our import bill and leave a not inconsiderable surplus for overseas investment, as in pre-war days. The notion that we are permanently handicapped by competition with lower-waged nations in a limited market is refuted by facts. Though our present export trade is cut down, it represents not a smaller but a slightly larger proportion of the aggregate world trade than in 1913. The notion that by a general reduction of wages we can materially strengthen our industries ignores the reactions of such a policy on trade as a whole. A recent study of unemployment published by the International Labor Office at Geneva thus succinctly states the case:

> The diminution of wages has sometimes been suggested as a means of alleviating the situation in exporting industries. The immediate effects of such diminution would appear to be to assist the industries concerned into securing foreign markets. Such relief as might be given in this way must, however, be essentially at the expense of domestic trade; for the reduction of wages will be reflected immediately in a diminution of home demand. Whether such preferential treatment of the exporting section is desirable or not depends to some extent upon the relative importance of domestic and foreign demand and the conditions in the respective industries supplying the demand.

That our people should have to accept wage reductions and work longer hours in order to reduce poverty and unemployment by capturing more foreign markets is a doctrine as economically foolish as it is politically dangerous. And yet that is the policy of the bulk of our ruling classes at the present time. They profess to deplore the hard times. "But hard times require hard measures. We are producing less than before the war, and we find it more difficult to sell this reduced product at a profit. The workers to whom in war and post-war emergencies concessions were made of wage rises and reductions of hours must give them up as sacrifices to the needs of the nation." Such is the contention. The sheltered trades, those supplying goods and services for domestic consumption, are naturally the chief subjects of attack. For they include the public and semi-public services where wage rises have been largest, advancing most from a low level before the war.

It is, no doubt, true that these, together with some other strongly organized domestic industries, such as railways and building, have, by raising the cost of their services, kept up prices and taxes and so impaired the real wages of less favored workers. There is some immediate divergence of interests between the sheltered and unsheltered trades which the opponents of the labor movement seek to play upon. But there is no chance of breaking the solidarity of labor by such tactics. The very fact that the main assault on wages is well advertised in the public inquiries recently set up into the railroad and mining industries has evolved a working-class opinion solidly against concessions on wages and hours.

The superficial case both in mines and railways for lower wages and longer hours is strong. A large proportion of the mines cannot afford to pay the present costs without a subsidy, and the railways are badly hit by reduced receipts and higher costs, and are only paying dividends out of back reserves. But the workers with sane obstinacy insist that a way must be found for maintaining a decent standard of living, and when they are told by statisticians that the country is not rich enough to meet that demand they rightly refuse to accept this verdict. They are aware partly from experience, partly from a sort of instinct, of the sophistry of the capitalistic contentions. They believe, and justly, that if they persist in their demand for a human standard certain industries can and will be reorganized technically and financially so as to be able to meet this demand. For the wastes both in our railroads and in our mines from stock management, overlapping, want of coordination and cooperation, not to speak of technical improvements, are attested by plenty of good expert evidence. The report of the coal commission some time next spring will bring the matter to an issue. The present subsidy policy no one defends except as a stop-gap. The purse with which this Government seeks to buy off trouble is ill furnished, and other claimants, such as agriculture, press their claims. Unless, for reasons so far unrevealed, the industrial clouds pass away next summer will be a testing time for this Government. Nothing has been done in the way of internal developments or export credits to relieve unemployment. Protection is being introduced piece-meal, and possibly may by that time have included the iron and steel trades. The sudden restoration of the gold standard indubitably checked the slight revival of export trade in the early months of last year and aided the continuous clamor for reduced wages.

There remain, however, two considerations which should temper excessive despondency in our industrial outlook. Part of our unemployment is undoubtedly attributive to the temporary check on emigration during the past ten years. Whereas in 1913 our net emigration amounted to 329,073 the average for the last five years hardly exceeds half that number. With revival of world trade and a more liberal policy in our overseas empire, to compensate the restrictive policy of the United States, some considerable relief to our surplus population may be anticipated. Lastly, there are many valid indications of prosperity in our internal trades, especially in those catering for luxuries and comforts, attesting a rise in the standard of living for considerable sections of our population. The rapid and profitable expansion of automobiles and their accessories, the new manufacture of artificial silk, the increased national expenditure upon holidays and recreation, drink and tobacco, the large profits made in retail trade serving the working classes, have considerable significance in view of the dismal pictures of our poverty and economic impotence drawn by some of our scaremonger visitors to America. The truth is, I think, that while the war has left us a little poorer than before in national income that reduced income is distributed somewhat better in favor of the general body of the people.

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Wages for Wives

II. The Home as a Joint-Stock Company

By DORIS STEVENS

EXCEPT, perhaps, for a few obscure tribes in remote hinterlands, women are the only people in the world who still perform work without pay. This is one of the situations which feminists seek to remedy in making a world kinder to women.

When one flatly states that women in the main are still slaves, the statement is usually scoffed at. Yet women in the home throughout the world underwork or overwork, as the case may be, without money reward. They receive their "keep" as do slaves. They receive their clothes as do slaves. They receive gifts—money, jewels, cars, as does the favorite slave a shining trinket. From a new hat to a new palace they get everything except a recognized share of the family income. Even with the more generous masters it is too often a dole, and like all doles, given grudgingly.

Home and mother have suffered under an avalanche of oratory, white carnations, and poetic nonsense. Home, that foundation of the state, that sacred institution, and mother's knee, well-worn, have alternated on the lips of the more articulate male at the slightest public provocation. Was there any threat of rebellion to stir the orator? Probably not. Slaves are slow to rebel. Yet every century has seen its handful of women challenging these insubstantial public proclamations. Now that women are more articulate, greater numbers are asking that experiments be tried. The modern woman says: We have become so impressed with the importance of home and mother that we propose to do something about them. Even if we should do the wrong thing first, still we intend to try first one experiment and then another in this vast laboratory.

Wages for Wives is a faulty title. No one seriously demands pay for being a wife. The state of wifehood and husbandhood is presumably a state entered into by two people voluntarily for love. We need not consider exceptions to this. In a proper conception of love neither husband nor wife pays the mate for love received. One does not ask pay for falling into a delightful emotional state. Parenthood should also be voluntary and desired by both parents. In a proper conception of parenthood neither parent would ask pay, one from the other, for contributing to the production of a child. The problem then becomes one of how we shall pay the woman in the home for services—occupational, professional—not for services of mutual love and mutual parenthood, although services done lovingly should not act as a penalty on the woman's value but should rather enhance her value.

Bob and Sally desire to become husband and wife, and do. Later they want to become parents and so become. We shall put Sally in that class of women which comprises 90 per cent of our home women, that class in which no domestic service can be summoned to lighten the tasks. Sally, we have assumed, is a volunteer wife and mother. What is her work in the home? Sally is mistress of the household. That is an executive job highly diversified, which embraces many departments. Sally becomes nurse to the child in its early infancy, a highly paid profession when done by one not the mother. Sally is the major body attendant and educational guide until at least adolescence, a profession moderately well paid when done by a governess, teacher, or tutor. Sally is the mistress of the family wardrobe, a job well paid when done by a seamstress. Sally is often the bookkeeper and cashier—both standardized occupations outside the home. And lastly she is shopper, cook, laundress, chambermaid, baker, stoker, and char. Like all persons who overwork in whatever field, Sally, unless she is a super-genius, risks becoming a drudge. Too often she becomes one.

Now obviously she cannot be paid what the specialist in each one of these departments is paid for her part time at each specialty. Often unskilled in most of these tasks to start with, she rarely becomes more skilled as fatigue and discouragement sap her strength. How then shall we compute her value as a worker?

There are some people who believe that Sally should be paid a wage. This involves standardization of wage rates in the home by taking that trade or occupation out into the open field of competition, as has been done for the engineer, statistician, garment worker, lawyer, and architect. If Sally wished to work as employee in her own home, she might demand the same wage that she could get if she went out to direct someone else's home and children. Thus she could approximate a standard wage for such service. She might feel she had more ability than her own home direction exacted and still want to stick to the profession of home-making. She could then take a more responsible position and in turn hire some one else for less money to direct her smaller establishment. (The woman who works at another profession outside the home already does this.) Just as the expert gardener in our village of Croton hires himself out as extra at seventy-five cents an hour and pays a less skilled and younger man forty cents an hour to tend his own garden. Just as the expert income-tax lawyer may turn over to a subordinate in his office the fathoming of his own income-tax report, while he concerns himself with the larger incomes of big fee-paying clients.

This is the way one experiment might go. But it is possible that, having standardized the occupation to a high rate of pay, even should the housekeeper desire to return to direct her own and her husband's home, her husband's income would not permit her employment in their home. Her return home would penalize her. And, working for her husband below the wage she herself has helped to standardize, she destroys her own gain and that to all housekeepers, just as any scab worker does.

This proposed solution fails to captivate me. To pass from total slavery to partial slavery and become an employee is a gain, but it is not enough.

Personally, I want to see the business of home-making recognized as a joint, cooperative enterprise directed by the two people who make that home, the husband and wife. Man brings to the home money-capital, which he earns out-

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side the home. Woman brings labor-capital, which she contributes to the home. They mutually support each other. Man may earn his money in steel and spend those earnings developing oil. Or man may take his earnings in steel, whether through the pay envelope or the coupon, to invest in the development of the home. It is said that woman is not entitled to share in the financial profits of the home investment as well as in the spiritual because she does not bring in original money-capital. So conceived the home is the only business where each partner is required to furnish original money-capital at the start. Not counting for the moment the value of the enthusiasm put into chosen tasks done for people you love, will any one deny that the labor woman performs in the home is equivalent to money? This is apparent the moment the wife's labor is withdrawn and man has to call upon outside labor.

Many a man who directs every detail of his own company has passed his profits in that company to the hands of others in a totally alien company. The dry-goods merchant invests his earnings in mines. He trusts the responsible heads and engineers in the latter company. So must he do in the home. He must trust the spouse to do her job until she fails, as she may, just as the experts in the mines may fail. He cannot do both jobs himself.

Money-capital and labor-capital should be pooled in developing the home. If all the man's earnings, or whatever share of his earnings, are put into the home, all expenses of husband, wife, and children should have first claim. Then the surplus might be divided as profits are divided by partners, upon a basis of division satisfactory to both. Each spouse's share, no matter how small, would be each one's exclusive property, and could be saved or spent at choice. If such a plan were accepted one spouse might be prodigal, the other thrifty, but each would be responsible for his or her own acts during the union, and would face the consequences if the partnership were dissolved. Or the surplus might be carried by the partnership for the oncoming baby or the contemplated better housing quarters. Or there might be no surplus whatsoever. But there would be the residue of greater mutual confidence and mutual hope and increasing self-respect in their relations.

I propose a flexible contract of mutual support to be drawn at marriage, and frequently redrawn if desired; a contract recognized by law as binding on the two partners jointly, enforceable against each when broken by either without good cause. Such a contract ought not stipulate length of marriage, as that period is incalculable and such a provision would be anti-social. It must stress the mutuality of support.

Then if dissolution came, we would not see men retreating from continent to continent to avoid alimony, for such a contract, if properly carried out, should gradually supplant alimony. Nor would we see the spectacle of women digging shamefully, through fear of insecurity and sometimes revenge, for the last available dollar. Such conduct is humiliating to both parties and is a deep reflection on the haphazard financial arrangements in marriage. Alimony to the wife without children is often a penalty for unpaid back surplus. And it is as difficult to collect as is any old, long-standing, forgotten debt. And to pay it only when that particular partner no longer labors in the home is too ludicrous.

Difficulties over the division of jointly acquired properties would be avoided by the "divide-as-you-go" policy. Where there are children their expenses would still be borne jointly by the parents after they had separated. The system now works out variously. Woman in the main continues to supply the labor or supervision of labor, man the money, where the woman is without money of her own. That is another problem. But one thing is certain. We shall see no abolition of alimony and the wardship it implies until some better and wiser financial cooperation is practiced among the married. It is lamentable to hear men whine about alimony who refused their wives a share of the family income during the partnership.

The women of the economically more fortunate classes have lightened their tasks by employing domestic service. In no considerable numbers have they become partners of their husbands in the business of home-making. Recently a case came to my attention which was more than poignant. Two young people started their married life poor. The husband became a business success and acquired a moderate fortune. At the end of eleven years, during which time the wife had managed an ever-expanding household and had nursed and reared four children, the husband fell in love with another woman. I am not censuring the husband for this. Doubtless he would have avoided it if possible. The husband asked for a divorce. The wife consented to give it to him. At the end of their marriage the wife had not one cent in her possession, not one share of stock, not one bond, no security of any sort, and she was in middle life and untrained. She was obliged to take what was given her to support herself and her children. Had she been a real partner, had she shared the prosperity as well as the early denials, she would have had money security, and would have been spared the humiliation of a dole, given at a time when the giver was no longer in a mood to give and when she undoubtedly shrank from taking.

What is the result when two married people do not share their income? Uncertainties always produce unwarranted fears which lead to extremes. There are plenty of examples where the wife, ignorant of the state of the husband's financial affairs, becomes lavish, prodigal, wasteful. There are more who become bores through constant acts of unnecessary parsimony and self-denial. Both are unbeautiful and not likely to produce peace and happiness in the home. As a general rule men and women cannot live happily in prolonged personal uncertainty. How long would one business man endure an arrangement with a partner if accurate information of the state of the treasury were continually withheld from him by the latter, or if the latter falsified as to the surplus profits?

Non-recognition of the woman as a partner in the home is disastrous in another way. It is subtly pernicious where woman carries her work into the open fields of social competition. She carries with her the psychology of the unpaid work she left behind. So grateful is she to be paid at all that she accepts wages far too low. Unpaid work in the home affects her attitude as well as man's toward her fees in any occupation she undertakes.

In conclusion I would propose the following experiments:

1. Let both men and women look upon woman's work in the home as work with money value. Let them begin by demanding that the United States Government Census list women in the home as gainfully employed, rather than unemployed as it now does.

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2. Recognize that the home is a cooperative institution with two joint directors.

3. Pool money-capital and labor-capital and decide in each case what division shall be made of surplus no matter how small.

4. Let those who wish make a contract of mutual support, to be satisfactory to both parties, and to be redrawn as often as desired, although making no provision for the end of the marriage. Let such contract stand in the law, with redress available in the courts, when the contract is broken without mutual consent or without good cause. No one would be compelled to make such a contract. Nor would it eliminate divorce. There would still be marital difficulties. It would merely safeguard the financial security of women who work in the home. If the woman chooses to earn outside the home, a contract might provide for the pooling of all or part of the joint income, instead of the pooling of the wife's labor and the husband's money. Where she contributes both money and labor the contract would embrace still other provisions.

The essence of this proposal is that any such contract shall not be prescribed or limited by law, but that when made it shall be legal between husband and wife.

More responsibility of the right sort will see fewer slatterns among women. More sharing by men will see fewer arrogant and privileged males. Men of imagination will see the danger of their privilège—and women, too, where the privilege is theirs—and will work to abolish it.

The Man Who Threw the Tariff Bomb

By SILAS BENT

HOW long will it take Mr. Coolidge to find an excuse for firing Edward P. Costigan from the Tariff Commission? He, the sole survivor of those who voted for a reduction in the rate on sugar, is in direct line for the presidential ax. But his twelve-year term still has four years to run, and he cannot be supplanted, as David J. Lewis was, nor maneuvered to a diplomatic post three thousand miles away, as William S. Culbertson was. Some other method must be found; for, so long as he remains on deck, the Tariff Commission will never be safe for plutocracy.

However soon Mr. Costigan is beheaded, it will be too late. The fat's in the fire. The Tariff Commission is about to be investigated. And the revelations, so Senator Norris told his colleagues the other day, "will shock the conscience of the country." To hold Mr. Costigan solely responsible for this situation would be inaccurate; yet it came along with its nose right at the heels of some things he said in New York, in concluding his discussion of another man's speech. That the record may be clear, I will quote what he said:

> 1. Within the last year the United States Tariff Commission, taken as a whole, has ceased to represent disinterested and nonpartisan independence.
>
> 2. A serious obstacle to the consideration and correction of the commission's problems is due to the fact that the public has been denied access to a number of the commission's most important reports and findings; and that it has therefore not been possible for the public to be properly informed about the commission's work.
>
> 3. A congressional investigation of the activities of the Tariff Commission under the flexible provisions would appear to be an indispensable forerunner of any legislative correction of the present little-understood and regrettable situation.
>
> 4. Pending such investigation, confirmation by the Senate of the United States of new appointees to the Tariff Commission—including Commissioners Brossard and Baldwin—should be postponed.
>
> 5. Until adequate assurances are given that the membership of the Tariff Commission will be safeguarded by law and will conform to the standards of disinterested public service, it is fair to ask that no further appropriation for the commission's work be authorized by Congress.

Now, the Commissioner was telling no secrets out of school. Everything he said, except possibly his quixotic suggestion that the pay roll be suspended, has been said publicly before; and even the pay roll expedient was tried on one occasion. That was when Commissioner Henry H. Glassie, admitting that his family owned a sugar plantation and mill, insisted on sitting in the sugar hearings until a special bill was passed by Congress, severing him from the Treasury until that case should be completed, and thus effectually terminating his services for the time being. There was no news in Mr. Costigan's speech except that a tariff commissioner made it, and only one newspaper gave it conspicuous space. Yet see what happened.

First, the speech was read into the *Congressional Record.*

Second, Senator King of Utah introduced a resolution calling for an investigation by a special committee of five.

Third, Senator Smoot of Utah countered with a resolution calling for an investigation by the Finance Committee, of which he is chairman.

Fourth, Commissioner Dennis issued a statement saying that the trouble with the Tariff Commission lay with the Harding, not the Coolidge, appointees. He is a Coolidge appointee.

Fifth, Commissioner Glassie said Mr. Dennis's statements were false and misleading. He is a Harding appointee.

Senator Smoot's resolution was admirable in that it manifested a chilled-steel nerve. The Senator owns 400 shares of the Utah-Idaho (beet) Sugar Company, which is a large beneficiary under the tariff; he is one of the twelve apostles of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, which as trustee controls that company; and Commissioner Brossard, whose appointment by President Coolidge will be one of the focal points of the investigation, is a Mormon and the Senator's handy man on the commission. His proposal that the Finance Committee investigate the Tariff Commission was clearly a proposal that he be permitted, please, to investigate himself.

For the investigation, if it is complete, will not deal alone with such comparatively recent happenings as President Coolidge's suppression of the sugar and other reports; his refusal (at a cost of $200,000 a day to American sugar consumers) to lower the sugar tariff; his appointment of Edgar B. Brossard to succeed Mr. Culbertson, and of A. H. Baldwin to succeed William Burgess, who resigned on account of ill health; nor even his reasons for trying, with Sen-

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ator Smoot's connivance, to make "Beet Sugar Charlie" Warren the Attorney General of this United States. The inquiry may go all the way back to 1921, when Senator Smoot told Cubans he would hold the sugar rates open until he heard whether they would be willing to reduce their cane acreage. The scandal of the ensuing wildly speculative market, which cost American consumers millions of dollars, has not yet been fully aired. The investigation might even bring out the Senator's use of statistics and statements prepared by Truman G. Palmer, long a lobbyist for the beet-sugar interests.

No, it is safe to say that Mr. Costigan did not have Senator Smoot's committee in mind when he called for an investigation. It is equally safe to say that he did not foresee the train of events which was to follow his speech. Certainly he could not foresee that Commissioner Dennis, while he and Commissioner Glassie were calling one another hard names, would be jockeyed into supporting the demand for an investigation.

Mr. Dennis is in an embarrassing position. He is a protege of Secretary Hoover and a personal friend of President Coolidge, about whom he has written laudatory campaign articles; but he is also a Democrat, a moderate protectionist, and a little thin-skinned. It is "a bit discouraging," he admits, to find himself always in the minority when rates should be reduced. The law required that a Democrat be chosen to supplant Mr. Lewis, and Mr. Dennis apparently feels that the Administration, in choosing him, regarded him as "safe."

Nobody has ever thought Edward P. Costigan safe in that sense. If he had said to himself when he took his degree at Harvard: I am now going to behave in such a way that never, during the next quarter of a century, or the quarter century after that if I live so long, in my goings out and comings in, in my utterances and in my friendships, never shall it be said that I am safe for the spoils system; if he had made some such resolve his whole life since that day would have been a post-graduate proof of it. To be unsafe for the spoils system it is not enough to let the system severely alone; one must be an enemy of it, one must move actively in the ranks against it. And that is what Mr. Costigan has been and done.

Mr. Costigan was admitted to the bar in Senator Smoot's Salt Lake City, but he began practicing at the beginning of the century in Denver, and has lived there ever since. He ran as a Republican for the Colorado House of Representatives, and on a contest was declared elected but was not seated. After this little lesson in politics he helped organize the Honest Election League; and since then he has been helpful in various such movements: a Direct Primary League and Direct Legislation League, civil-service reform and a municipal reform campaign; and in 1912 he helped organize the Progressive Party in Colorado. Twice he was the unsuccessful Progressive candidate for Governor. He has been an advocate of conservation, temperance legislation, equal suffrage, municipal ownership of public utilities, the initiative, referendum, and recall—that sort of thing. As an attorney he has appeared for mine workers and for strikers charged with murder, who were acquitted.

One of the things Mr. Costigan was plugging for was tariff reform; and when, in 1916, he saw that the Democrats at Washington were headed in that direction, he publicly urged—not as a Democrat, nor as a Republican, but in his capacity as a Progressive—that the Democratic ticket be supported. Mr. Wilson was reelected, you recall, in the West.

At Harvard Mr. Costigan had been a pupil of Dr. F. W. Taussig, who became the first chairman of the Tariff Commission created during the Wilson Administration; and the pupil now became one of the first tariff commissioners. At that time the commission was a fact-finding agency, without the quasi-judicial character which it acquired under the "flexible" provisions of the 1922 act. The two men worked together until 1919, when Dr. Taussig resigned. They came together again at the recent meeting in New York of the American Economic Association, where Mr. Costigan, commenting on Dr. Taussig's speech, let fall those five sticks of dynamite which have been set forth here.

Although Dr. Taussig and Mr. Costigan agree that the Tariff Commission, as now constituted, cannot command public respect, they disagree radically on an important point: Dr. Taussig thinks that the interests involved in tariff-making are so powerful, and can bring to bear such influence through the party in power, that we can never have disinterested and unpartisan administration of the "flexible" clause; Mr. Costigan believes that once the light is let in, we can. Dr. Taussig is pessimistic; Mr. Costigan has a larger faith in his fellows. It is that faith, I feel sure, which has kept him at his post ever since 1917, so that he is now the only "charter member" still serving; it is that faith which prompts his demand for an investigation, so the commission may not be undone in the dark. Never until Mr. Glassie insisted on sitting in the sugar case was it supposed that an interested commissioner might participate in such a judicial proceeding. Evidently Mr. Costigan believes that there can be a return to the earlier conditions.

It is refreshing to encounter a faith which persists through all that has happened in the Tariff Commission since the sugar investigation began. The mere matter of cotton hosiery, which has been on the commission tapis these thirty months, would wear down most men's optimism. The pocket veto by Mr. Coolidge of important reports, so that the public has no ground of information for judging the arbitrary rulings at the White House, might well cool any one's ardor.

But softly! Let it be said in justice to Mr. Coolidge that he has reduced the duties on bran and live bobwhite quail. Yes, after questioning the leading ornithologists of the United States; after making a laborious investigation covering five months and extending into New York, New Jersey, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Illinois, Kansas, Texas, and Mississippi; after procuring the "costs of production" of live bobwhite quail covering 100 per cent of those brought into the United States in 1925, and 95 per cent in 1924, from Mexico, "the principal competing country"; and after analyzing expertly the weighted average costs, the commission reported in favor of a reduction; and the President, seeing his duty clearly, issued a ringing proclamation, lowering the rate to the full extent of his authority under the law.

At the end of the document containing this momentous report and proclamation I find a note: "Commissioner Costigan did not participate in the above report of the commission." It is the first from which he has withheld himself and it was his first chance, under Mr. Coolidge, to experience the sensation of participating in a "revision downward." But Commissioner Costigan had no time for clowning. He was meditating dynamite.

No, when the presidential ax falls, if it does, the Costigan slate will be clean; he will still be rated among the enemies of the spoils system.

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John Garibaldi Speaks

By FRANK R. KENT

Washington, D. C., January 16

LAST winter when John Garibaldi Sargent arrived in Washington to become Attorney General of the United States the good Calvin, then somewhat perturbed in spirit, sent a trusted messenger to meet his old Vermont friend at the station and bring him to the White House. The messenger was particularly instructed to see Mr. Sargent before he got off the train and tell him to let the reporters take his picture but to say nothing. So literally did the new Attorney General follow that advice that while he posed until the last photographer was satisfied he could not be got even to say what time he left Ludlow for Washington nor where he intended to spend the night. Since then he has adhered to that advice so closely that, while innumerable pictures have been taken of him for the movies and magazines, if up to ten days ago he had said anything either to newspapermen or anyone else other than "Good morning" and "Colonel Donovan has charge of that" it was said in complete privacy. From time to time a statement in his name has come out of the Department of Justice, but that was not Mr. Sargent speaking—it was the department through its publicity man, who, it is said, does not like to be referred to as a publicity man, though how else to refer to him no one knows. Personally, the Attorney General has carried out White House instructions and literally said nothing.

That was why there was such keen interest in the Senate when, a week ago today, Mr. Sargent took the witness chair before the senatorial committee investigating the aluminum case. It was his first public appearance, the first chance to hear him speak for himself, actually the first time some of the Senators who voted for his confirmation had ever seen him. It was not the fault of the Washington correspondents that the impression made by his testimony was inadequately transmitted through the newspapers. The fact is it could not be done that way. It had to be heard to be really appreciated. Merely reading about it means missing its full significance. However, after three hours of examination it was the unanimous verdict among those who listened that Mr. Coolidge's Attorney General was perhaps the most remarkable witness who ever appeared before a Senate committee—remarkable not in what he knew but in what he did not know. At the end of the hearing a Republican Senator, who had sat amazed through the morning, said, "Incredible as it seems, the Attorney General knows less about the Department of Justice than Denby did about the Navy."

To some who did not hear but read what the Attorney General said, searching for some explanation of his unbelievable lack of knowledge, the idea occurs that perhaps Mr. Sargent is really a superb actor, far deeper than is believed, and his replies to questions were for the purpose of cannily concealing knowledge rather than naively revealing his lack of it. It is perhaps natural that such a notion should arise, but no one who heard him entertains it. Unanimously they acquit the Attorney General of either guile or subtlety. Unanimously they would agree that he was, before this committee, himself. It was impossible to listen to him and doubt it.

Since Mr. Sargent took hold ten months ago there have been two views of him here. One was that he had no real grasp on his job and did not pretend to have, that Donovan, one assistant, ran the legal end and Marshall, the other assistant, the political end, and that all Mr. Sargent did was to look ponderously wise and sign where he was told to sign. The other view was that he was a shrewd old fellow with real ability and resourcefulness back of his silence, that he kept personally posted on all important matters under him, and did the real directing, holding a tight rein over Donovan.

What Mr. Sargent did in his first public appearance was to prove completely the first estimate which completely disproves the second. He was, it is true, an evasive witness—evasive through no desire to conceal the facts or any effort to mislead the committee, but simply because he did not know. The things he did not know were amazing in an Attorney General. It was not only the law with which he was admittedly unfamiliar but the facts. He had not heard of the resolution of the Federal Trade Commission refusing to give the aluminum evidence to his department. He did not know of the letter of his predecessor, Mr. Stone, stating that it was apparent the company had violated the law. He was unaware of any controversy over the aluminum company until a newspaperman mentioned it to him. He had not heard of the aluminum company at all before he came to Washington. He had no recollection that he had ever taken any personal action in the aluminum case, as those things were in Mr. Donovan's hands. The following day he corrected this and said his attention had been called to a memorandum he had signed soon after he took office requesting Mr. Donovan to investigate the case and report to him. He must, he said, have done this, because the signature to the memorandum is his, but he had no recollection of it.

The most persistent questions showed that there was nothing from start to finish that Mr. Sargent knew about the case, almost nothing he had ever heard about it. It was so apparent that this was so that no one who heard him had the least thought he was holding anything back, although as a witness it was impossible to pin him down. Quite evidently he thought the thing to do above all else was to avoid answering any question yes or no. Not once in three hours did he use either of those words—even when they would have been the easiest way out for him. He spoke so slowly that often a Senator would ask him a second question under the impression that he had finished his reply, only to have the Attorney General continue calmly to explain that on this point he had no definite knowledge or was not clear in his mind or had not reached a conclusion or was not familiar with the facts.

It not only took him a long time to say these things but he said them in so many ways that there was always the expectation that he might get somewhere—but he never did. Every word was said ponderously, slowly, impressively, solemnly. His long pauses made it seem as if he were giving his replies the deepest thought, but when they came it was revealed they were nothing to think about. To the end he maintained his poise. Admissions that brought a smile to every face in the room left him unperturbed. Dignified and ponderous, a mountain of a man, with a heavy face and a kindly eye, John Garibaldi left the witness chair after having demonstrated beyond doubt that no man who ever held his great office knew less about it than he. The curious mixture of serenity and stolidity in the Sargent character blinded him to this, and, incredible as it seems, he

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stepped down with the satisfied air of one who has confounded his critics and acquitted himself well.

Beyond doubt he made a deep impression, but not the one he seemed to think. While those who heard him certainly acquitted him of any sinister purpose and held him guiltless of guile, they were also in complete accord in regarding his reputation as a shrewd, resourceful, capable person as without foundation. That he is a nice old man nearly everybody would agree, but that he is an Attorney General is right hard to maintain after last week.

It does look as if following the Senate's rejection of Mr. Warren last year Mr. Coolidge played one of the greatest jokes on that body ever perpetrated by a President when he got them to confirm Mr. Sargent sight unseen. The fact that Mr. Coolidge did not do it as a joke is the most pregnant fact of all.

In the Driftway

SO Charlie Schwab has let the cat out of the bag again! Of all the captains of industry that the Drifter has known—and he doesn't pretend to know many—Charlie Schwab is the most likable because he is so absolutely frank, gives himself no airs, pretends to no particular wisdom, and is utterly unlike the sententious, all-knowing, and divinely prophetic Elbert H. Gary, the best-paid advance agent of prosperity. Schwab is just a good-natured grown-up boy and in Chicago the other night he admitted frankly that somebody else writes his speeches for him. "You know," he said to the American Road Builders Association, "there is a fellow down at New York who writes my speeches for me. He has written one for me to deliver to you. It has been given to all the newspapers and you can read it in the morning, but I am going to talk about something else." And talk about something else he did. The dispatches don't say what, but the Drifter guarantees that it was bright and racy and altogether human and much more worth reading than the speech that fellow back in New York had written for him.

* * * * *

THE charming thing about Charlie Schwab is his spontaneity as well as his frankness. The Drifter remembers with joy how on one occasion at Loretto, where the head of the Bethlehem Steel has built himself a very impressive country house with a big terrace, there was an afternoon tea going on to which all the neighborhood was invited, among them many of the Catholic friends of the host. Charlie has built a church, at least part of a convent, and other things there to help him in the future life. Noticing that the host was in mellow spirits and happy as he never fails to be when friends and neighbors are about him, one of the dignitaries of the convent decided that the time was ripe to ask him for another $50,000 for that institution. He flashed back at her that she could have the $50,000 if then and there on the terrace she would dance with him to the music of the band. She accepted, to the amazement of the neighbors, danced a step or two with him, and went off with a check. The Drifter is certain that she got absolution for her sin; there is only one thing that puzzles him: How did she happen to know how to dance? Is it possible that—but, no, the Drifter forbears.

* * * * *

CHARLIE SCHWAB has danced on other occasions. He has seen much of the world and is not unfamiliar with its weaknesses and follies, and his fondness for poker which he can so well indulge is notorious. But he loves the simple life in Bethlehem where the neighbors drop in on him of an evening, in contrast to the lonely grandeur of his Riverside Drive mansion where people don't have the habit of calling informally to talk over the neighborhood news. But best of all, the Drifter thinks, Charlie Schwab loves a blast furnace. In fact the Drifter once heard him say that as between a $150,000 painting by an Italian master and a blast furnace he preferred the latter because he got more fun out of it. The Drifter understood perfectly what he meant. He was not sneering at the old master or showing a lack of appreciation of art. It was a frank admission that the tremendous human and mechanical problems which a blast furnace offers stir him as nothing else could. He was not once a workman for nothing; he can look into the future, too, and when he stands by a blast furnace he sees many things in the flames visible at the furnace doors or issuing from the top of the stacks. His men like him because they know he was once one of them and because, whatever his faults, he is so human and so without affectation or pretense. The Drifter is sure that that speech-writing fellow upon whom Charlie Schwab peached does not bear him any ill-will at all—few could, and among them is not THE DRIFTER

P. S. Later. Charlie now says it was all a joke—a joke perhaps on the many from the President down who do have their liter'ry fellers to supply golden words and copper-fastened thoughts.

Correspondence

Never Satisfied

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: There is no pacifying the pacifists. Our preparationists are damned if they do and double-damned if they don't.

The Nation complains because, in the late lamented war, we spent a billion dollars on airplanes and have nothing to show for it. If we actually had a billion dollars' worth of airplanes, we would be the nightmare of the world.

Let us hope that our wars will never be carried on by deadly earnest pacifists who demand one hundred cents of result for every dollar of expenditure. Meanwhile giving thanks for our lackadaisical militarists,

Seattle, Washington, December 14 BERTHA F. LANE

The Sins of Sinclair

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I note in Mr. Benjamin Stolberg's review of Miss Ida Tarbell's "History of the Standard Oil Company," new edition, that "Miss Tarbell's research, unlike Upton Sinclair's recent performance, is as hole-proof as it is fool-proof."

It has apparently not occurred to Mr. Stolberg to go back and consult the reviews of Miss Tarbell's book when it was first published. He would find that it was not entirely hole-proof, and certainly not in any way fool-proof. Neither was it rogue-proof.

As for Upton Sinclair: in the course of his conflict with lawless wealth, he has stated some hundreds of thousands of facts, and a dozen or so have been incorrect; but there is this to be said for him: he has stuck by his guns, and you do not find him fawning upon those whom formerly he lashed.

Miss Tarbell has just published a fulsome biography of Judge Gary; and the sins of old Rockefeller against freedom of trade were white as snow compared to the sins of Judge

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Gary against labor and against the fundamental rights of citizenship in his great steel empire. When I read the first reviews of this new book I said to myself: "There is only one thing left to complete the career of Ida Tarbell, and that is for her to write a third volume, whitewashing the Rockefellers." Now I learn from Mr. Stolberg's review that this third volume is actually in preparation.

Pasadena, December 10 UPTON SINCLAIR

Conservative New Zealand!

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: We have just had an election and it has resulted in the Government Party obtaining 55 seats, a gain of 15 seats; the National Party (formerly called Liberals) obtaining 10 seats, a loss of 11; Labor obtaining 13, a loss of 4. The great government victory was due to the absolute weakness of the Nationalists and to the fear of communism from the Labor Party. The British seamen's strike completely spoiled any chances that Labor might have had.

The tendency toward conservatism as against legislative and political experiment seems to be of world-wide character.

Auckland, New Zealand, November 14 J. D. ROBERTSON

A National Park in the East

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: History will record no more striking fact than the early establishment of vast national parks in the younger and little-settled Western regions of our country and the failure to establish during the same era parks of similar kind and of adequate area in the older and more densely populated Eastern sections. There are eight square miles of national-park area east of the Mississippi—in Maine. West of the Mississippi there are more than 11,000 square miles.

Evidently it was not through sectional favoritism on the part of the government that vast national parks were established in the West, because these parks were given to the government. Certainly cheapness of land did not determine the distribution, because cheap land of great scenic value has been available always in the East. Mere height of mountain relief or length of mountain ranges could not have determined the Western predominance, because the East has possessed the lofty Great Smoky Mountains of Tennessee and of Virginia and the long ranges of the Appalachians, including the Blue Ridge. The novelty of the canyons, sentinel peaks, deserts, glaciers, craters, great trees, cataracts, and forests as they appeared to the eyes of the pioneers of the West was, of course, the compelling fact which led to the enthusiastic creation of the great national parks. To the Western Indians, who were accustomed to these spectacles, the scenery of the East appeared novel.

Today the sons of the Western pioneers are finding Eastern scenery interesting in the highest degree. These men, when they journey toward the Atlantic in search of recreation, are making as it were a rediscovery of the rivers, lakes, the mountains, and the virgin forests of the East. Although men of the West are impressed with the novelty of the landscapes of the Eastern country and with the scenery of its vastly older mountains, the present movement to create new national parks in the East is not led by these Western men whose eyes and appreciation ought to be the keenest but by the men who live in the regions whose acquisition is contemplated. This awakening has been brought about by familiarity, through travel, with the national parks of the West and with the scenery of the country as a whole.

This perception of itself might lead only to a complacency regarding the scenic resources of the East were it not for pressing economic demands which are being made upon the States which possess such scenery. The demand for timber is threatening to despoil this region of the virgin forests which are singular to it and alone remain of all those which covered the Eastern mountains when our country was settled. Action is needed to save these primeval woodlands and the scenery to which they are essential.

Who are these men and what are the lands and the scenery which they wish to save for national use and enjoyment? The men and the lands are of Tennessee, North Carolina, and Virginia, where the Great Smoky and the Blue Ridge mountains rise up to form the most impressive mountain scenery east of the Mississippi. These men are trying to raise money sufficient to purchase the highest mountain ranges and their forest cover and dedicate these lands and their landscapes to the recreative enjoyment and to the education of all the people of the country. Congress has appointed a commission to view these lands to see if they are worthy in distinction and in size to become national parks. The commission after a thorough field study has reported enthusiastically for their acquisition.

The great need of the moment is to inform the nation East and West of the unselfish work which the men of Tennessee, North Carolina, and Virginia are doing to acquire these lands. If the people of the country are fully informed, there can be no doubt of the ultimate success of the efforts to secure an Eastern national park commensurate in size, distinction, and recreational and educational value with those west of the Mississippi.

Boston, November 22 ARTHUR A. SHURTLEFF,
Vice-President, American Society of Landscape Architects

Eton, a School for "Poor Boys"

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Apropos of the exclusion of Countess Karolyi you advance (in your issue of December 2) the case of Antioch College and its exclusion of a Negro boy fully qualified to enter that institution founded to "stand always a place where neither sex, color, nor creed shall ever bar young people from an education."

Few people are aware that there are a score of great endowments in England which are handled in a precisely similar manner. The most notorious instance is Eton College, founded by some grateful native of long ago. The official title of this institution is "the Free Grammar School of Eton founded for the free education of the poor boys of Eton forever." Today it is the premier school for sons of the aristocracy. For over a century there has never been in the school a single poor-boy inhabitant of Eton. The income of the foundation is large and the trustees have from time to time obtained control of all the real estate in the parish of Eton which, through prevention of building and razing of old houses, today is a small and thinly populated area, apart from the school buildings. Within that area only traders are permitted to establish themselves. They make a good living out of supplying the needs of the 1,100 boys (whose expenditure averages $1,500 per head annually) and the faculty and numerous officials connected with the institution and otherwise.

If a resident desires to send his son to the school his right is not disputed, but his business is placed "out of bounds," which means that any student entering it risks expulsion from the school. There is no difficulty in enforcing the regulation because English people are particularly loyal to established authorities and the headmaster's fiat is law and so recognized by the courts and the government. Thus commercial ruin is the cost of availing oneself of one's right to send a child to the school provided for the purpose. The authorities of Antioch are amply supported by English precedents if they desire to avoid the intentions of the founder of the college.

Oakland, California, December 1 EDGAR SUMMERTON

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The New Newark Museum

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Three months from now the Newark Museum Association will open to the public its new museum. When the museum opens it will, in addition to its regular collections of art, science, and industry, display for the first time an important collection of works by living American artists purchased this year. The museum is definitely following a policy of encouraging the arts in America by purchasing the works of living American artists and designers. The museum will stress from the beginning the importance of the arts of everyday life, in furniture and household utensils, in house decoration, in personal ornament, in clothing, not only as a necessary foundation for the growth of the fine arts, painting, sculpture, etc., but as ends in themselves.

The museum will emphasize also service to the public. It lends works of art, reproductions, and various forms of exhibit material to schools, stores, workshops, factories, and to individuals. Through its lending collections and its children's museum the Newark Museum before it moved into its new home was sending out over 2,000 exhibits each month to the public.

Newark, New Jersey, December 29 EDGAR H. CAHILL

Agreement in Brazil

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The leaders of the two great political parties in Brazil, of the "Ins" and "Outs," have wisely united in nominating Dr. Washington Linz for the presidency and Dr. Fernando de Mello Vianna for the vice-presidency of the United States of Brazil. This is automatically equivalent to an election, which formally will take place, in a simplified form, next March. The new administration will take charge in September.

This movement and its results are encouraging. Mr. Washington Linz, the present governor of the important coffee state of Sao Paulo, is a very able and highly esteemed statesman. Mr. Mello Vianna, governor of the important state of Minas Geraes, is equally well known and has also rendered important political services. With this political combination an era of good feeling is probably reentered after the disagreements which led, two years ago, to the outbreak of the so-called Sao Paulo revolution.

No little praise is due to the patriotic energy of the present president of Brazil, Dr. Bernardes, who courageously took charge of the government during a very dangerous crisis and introduced important and urgently necessary reforms.

New York, December 10 EUGENE SEEGER,
Formerly Consul General of the United States
at Rio de Janeiro

The Way of Salvation

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In re Our Gallery of Iniquity, in your issue of December 9, permit me to submit (with apologies to Oliver Goldsmith) the following lines:

When man ambitious stoops to poli-
Tics, and would win the votes of men,
What art can wash away his folly?
What charm can make him clean again?

The only art to seek salvation,
To win forgiveness from each eye,
To gain approval from *The Nation*,
And ne'er to lose it, is—to die.

Buffalo, Wyoming, December 22 MARY M. PARMELEE

MARK AND CARL VAN DOREN
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outstanding books of the year

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Books and Plays

Free

By LAURA RIDING GOTTSCHALK

Thinking is the poorest way of traveling—
Paths in the head,
Dreams in bed.

Living in a body is the drearest kind of life,
Locked up all alone
In flesh and bone.

Turn me out of head,
Turn me out of body,
Wake me out of bed.

Rather than respectable,
Vagabond and dead.

First Glance

MRS. FLORENCE AYSCOUGH'S "A Chinese Mirror" (Houghton Mifflin: $5) is not, as its title might indicate, a series of impressions. Or if it is impressions that we get, they are a great deal more than reflections from the surface. As Mrs. Ayscough explains in her preface, a Chinese mirror is expected to yield the reality rather than the appearance of a thing; and so she has tried in each of her chapters to give us the whole meaning of a Chinese thing. The result is a book which will not be easy to read, for it is learned and detailed. Mrs. Ayscough has spent a quarter of a century in the country she writes about, and for the purposes of her present study she has plundered not only the Chinese classics but the researches of many sinologues in Europe and America. But it may be well to have a book on China which cannot be read by one who runs. China has not run—at least till now—for something like four thousand years, and during that time, since she is a brilliantly gifted nation, she has accumulated an immeasurable stock of stories, beliefs, and arts. It is at this stock that Mrs. Ayscough's fascinating book teaches us to look with a more or less expert eye.

Her procedure is both less orderly and more profitable than that of one who writes guide-books or relies on impressions. Knowing and remembering so much, she is forced to settle upon some institution or place and collect her data about that—reaching always further and deeper until it seems to her that she has written enough. About the story of the building of her own house at Shanghai, for instance, she gathers eighty pages of information, always informally conveyed, concerning the popular life of China today. In three chapters called Symbolism of the Purple Forbidden City, T'ai Shan: The Great Mountain, and Cult of the Spiritual Magistrates of City Walls and City Moats she intrepidly explores the all but impossible realm of Chinese religious philosophy. And in a chapter on The Chinese Idea of a Garden—which is "that it shall represent as closely as possible the innumerable natural scenes so dear to the heart of a scholar"—she lights up the spirit of this paragon more richly than I have ever seen it lighted up before. The seven fine arts which among other things the scholar must master are, one may repeat in passing, "calligraphy, painting, playing the table-lute, playing hedged-in-checkers, writing poems, drinking wine, and cultivating flowers."

But the triumph of Mrs. Ayscough's book is the chapter called The Literary Background of the Great River. "I have heard a tale," she says, "of a Japanese professor who went up the river in order to lecture. . . . The learned man arrived in a state of exhaustion, having, in his desire to identify the famous sites on either shore, barely slept or eaten on the way." Compared with the Yangtze, of course, the Rhine, the Danube, the Hudson, the Seine, the Thames, and the Tiber are newcomers; for every foot of The River is colored by a legend or remembered by a poem. Tu Fu and Li Po lived on its banks; and at P'êng Tsê another poet, T'ao Whirlpool-of-Intelligence, served for a few weeks as an official—or, as he put it himself, "crooked the loins for the sake of five measures of rice." Mrs. Ayscough went in a boat the 2,700 miles from Shanghai through the Three Chasms to Chungking and back, and her account of the expedition, packed as it is with reminiscences of lovers and scholars and soldiers and painters and poets, is one of the most moving narratives I know. MARK VAN DOREN

This Side of Love

Beyond Hatred. The Democratic Ideal in France and America. By Albert Leon Guérard. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.

MR. GUERARD writes brilliantly. His pages sparkle with anecdotes, allusions, and shrewd characterizations often amusing, seldom trite, and always apt. No reader who gets well started with "Beyond Hatred" will be likely to leave the book long until he has finished it, and by the time he has reached the end he will probably have chuckled enough to add appreciably to his normal expectation of life. Whether the residuary effect of the book will be equally inspiring, however, is another matter. Mr. Guérard follows a method which, in less clever hands, would seem to court disaster. He begins by exposing, in a masterly fashion, the weaknesses and absurdities of what passes for political democracy in France and America, and wields the knife so skilfully and remorselessly as to make political despotism seem attractive by comparison. To think of millions of immortal souls passing a ghastly eternity amid such contradictions and specious pretenses as are here depicted recalls the story of Machiavelli, who is said to have remarked, after a horrid dream in which processions of saints and sinners had deployed before him, that he would rather live in hell and discuss serious matters with the philosophers and heroes whom the church had banned than associate in heaven with the godly rabble that had just passed. Then, having demonstrated what a mess political democracy and civilization have made of things, Mr. Guérard pleads with the peoples to love each other as brethren and grow in grace through the unction of an international spirit. We are, apparently, in our several national ways, fools all, but if only we will forget the turmoil and the stench, put our arms about our neighbors' necks, and march cheerily onward to the tune of "God bless the human race!" the Promised Land shall be ours to enter and possess.

How, by so bewildering a route, the goal of an internationalized humanity is to be attained Mr. Guérard hastens to tell us even while the dissection proceeds. Some of the things that offend us most in democratic institutions are really not as bad as they seem; they may even be occasions for rejoicing if only we would understand them better. Political democracy, for

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example, is in reality a hybrid affair in which vestigial remains of the glorious but benighted days of kings stick out obtrusively in the mass of other functions belonging to the worthier days of the people. Clemenceau named the prostate gland and the presidency of the French Republic as the two things in the world for which he had never been able to see any use, but since democratic France insists upon having a figurehead, Mr. Guérard suggests that it might be well to have an emperor, a king, and a president, the first to entertain visiting emperors and such, the second to grace the funeral of M. Charles Maurras, and the third to attend the divorce of M. Herriot. Similarly, instead of Americans having only one flag to cheer for, let us have two, the Stars and Stripes for the democracy of Lincoln and a Dollar flag for dollar diplomacy. Some such practical adjustments as these would tide over the interval until internationalism arrives.

Mr. Guérard is at pains to insist that democracy does not mean racial or social equality, but although Negroes and whites in the mass will not mix, the Negro is advancing, as witness the changed relations between the races in the South, and even the black army of France testifies to a belief that racial barriers will not count for much in the international future. A universal language would obviously be better for certain purposes than are the forty-odd tongues with which Europe has to contend, and Mr. Guérard fences deftly with Anatole France over the Master's cynical distrust of Esperanto, but he is not ready to assert that a universal English is part of the price that internationalism must pay. And so and thus with the battle of the classics in France, Voltaire and the "new history," and all the other topics over which the book ranges.

Mr. Guérard's conclusion is as baffling as his main argument, if that may be called argument in which premises and conclusion are not always easily joined. The democracy of Lincoln is not a democracy of equality, but we may nevertheless act "as if" all men were equal. The common foe is "the assumption of unproved superiorities." What matters is only the negative side of social theories; "what is constructive in life can take care of itself without theory." "The root of hatred is not inequality but pride." The sovereign remedy, apparently, is love, and love we must if the world is to be saved. One hesitates to challenge so hopeful a conclusion, but whether the average reader of the book will conclude that love alone will really rid the world of evil, and forthwith begin to practice it upon all mankind, or conclude instead that Mr. Guérard's political philosophy is the more practical one of a cheerful tone and a stiff upper lip, may fairly be regarded as an open question.

WILLIAM MACDONALD

Document and More

Black Valley. By Raymond Weaver. The Viking Press. $2.

OF the scores of missionaries who annually sail away to carry the Gospel to foreign lands there are few who realize that it is, fundamentally, not the heathen but their own souls which they are bent upon saving. Some are running away from those complications of life which can be left physically behind, a greater number are in full flight from themselves, but all are driven, however little they may be aware of the fact, by the obscure needs of their own spirit. Men whose craving for power and position can find no adequate satisfaction at home, women who must find an environment where their gnawing shame of spinsterhood may be transformed into the glory of a willing sacrifice to God, and the whole company of those who can achieve no real adjustment at home pack up their Bibles and their belongings for the voyage to a foreign land where they may create for themselves the traditions and the standards which they cannot find in any natural society. Many of them achieve, in a measure at least, the sublimations which they seek, many pass on to their children problems created by their own artificial adjustments; but here and there one is brought by some crisis in his own life to realize the real nature of that impulse to "push the heathen to the wall" which is called in ecclesiastical language "a missionary vocation."

Such, at least, I take to be the underlying thesis of Mr. Weaver's novel, through which run the threads of a double plot—the story of a boy who revolted from the solemn pretentiousness of his father's theology only to fall a victim to the subtler influence of his mother's possessiveness, and the story of a missionary lady of middle age who scandalized the community by announcing her engagement to a sea captain only to realize when he failed to appear on time for the wedding that her love, like her vocation, was merely a phantom generated by an emptiness of the heart which had never been filled. Doubtless Mr. Weaver's novel will be read chiefly for the swift interest of its narrative and the piquancies of its account of the ironies involved in the contacts between the East and that highly specialized portion of the West which is represented by the missionaries; but below this outward investiture lies a psychological study, not without a Freudian significance, whose interpretation is left entirely to the reader. The meaning of the story of the missionary lady is hardly in doubt—she realized in the time given her by the dilatoriness of her prospective husband that only the intensity of her need made him seem a suitable mate and so returned to such consolation as the service of her God could give her—but the story of the boy is left by the irony of the author to be interpreted according to the temperament of the reader. Outwardly the dying mother, who clings to him and who, by the loyalty which she tacitly demands, enables him to extricate himself from the two amorous entanglements into which he falls, is the heroine of the book; and outwardly his old friend Mrs. West, to whom he turns for guidance when his mother is dead, is to become the wise counselor of his young manhood. But there are those who will see, as I fancy that Mr. Weaver saw, another meaning in these events. They will see in that devotion to his mother, abnormally triumphant over passion, the beginning of one of those sinister obsessions which make men missionaries or worse, and they will see in Mrs. West but a substitute embodiment of the mother who is destined always to stand between him and any satisfactory adjustment to life.

It is obvious that Mr. Weaver knows his Japan and it is obvious, too, from his temperate and rounded characterizations of the principal personages concerned, that his attitude toward the missionaries is not that of a fanatic but rather the result of a seasoned and mellowed contempt which is not afraid to give the devil his due and which feels no necessity to overstate the case. His book will serve as an admirable document and as the record of an acute observer, but because it is so much more than merely local and informative it stands out as a novel of insight and power and as one with solid foundations in universal human character. Outwardly it is a story of Japan and a commentary upon the lives and personalities of those who devote themselves to service "in the foreign field"; inwardly it is a story of those frustrations of spirit which are peculiar to no special environment and which differ only in their accidents according to the environment of their victims.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Karel Capek

Krakatit. By Karel Capek. Translated by Lawrence Hyde. The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

Letters from England. By Karel Capek. Doubleday, Page and Company. $2.

CAPEK, like many others, is harassed by this age of iron which has made man a slave to the machine. How will the already poignant struggle between man and the machine end? Capek is full of foreboding. Like Bertrand Russell he believes that the future is in the hands of the man who invents the

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most powerful machine, that the scientist rather than the poet or artist will be the dominating figure of the future.

In his novel "Krakatit" he attacks the imaginative theme of "R. U. R." A scientist has invented an explosive capable of blowing up the whole world in a few minutes. He is captured by emissaries from a foreign kingdom who are determined to buy or steal the secret of Krakatit from him. He refuses; the power to destroy all humanity, put in the hand of a single individual or nation, would be a deadly thing. Sometimes, however, he hesitates and with a philosophy strangely reminiscent of Anatole France in the last chapter of "Penguin Island" wonders if the destruction of humanity is so dreadful after all.

> What do I care for the laws of eternity? Your moment will come and you will explode. You may liberate love, pain, thought, I don't know what. You are not part of the endless order, or of the millions of light years. Explode with the most lofty flame. Do you feel yourself shut in? Then burst to pieces the mortar. Make a place for your sole moment. That is good.

There is a slight love episode with the Princess Wilhelmina, a daughter of the royal house in whose kingdom the inventor is captive. Here Capek is like Anthony Hope or Marie Corelli. And, unfortunately, this episode is characteristic of the book. It has fire and color, and yet it never rises above the commonplace. In spite of the quality of the plot and the evident artistic ability of the author the novel is not as a whole interesting; it is dull, and at times it is obscure with the obscurity that comes from a certain mental looseness. Capek does not quite understand everything he himself says. One suspects that, after all, he is a poet who thinks he knows a great deal of science.

The "Letters" record the charming, light impressions of Capek during his recent visit to England. They have all the charm of a witty, clever, cultivated acquaintance who is talking to you of his visit to a strange country and who has an eye for detail, a shrewdness of vision, and an excellent sense of humor. Capek met a great many literary men in England, and he gives them in vivid paragraphs. The illustrations by the author are equal to the prose itself.

MARYA ZATURENSKA

The Unity of Mankind

Social Origins and Social Continuities. By Alfred M. Tozzer. The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

IN the course of a general discussion of the life and ideas of "primitive man" Mr. Tozzer demonstrates that "man is one and cultures are many" in a fashion that should drive the point finally home.

The first chapter, dealing with methods and theories which have been used in the study of anthropological data, should give the reader a clear idea of that difference between the cultural and the natural backgrounds of man which is so simple to state and apparently so difficult to grasp. The author insists quite rightly that a sharp differentiation should be made between biological and cultural inheritance, and then goes on to explain some of the difficulties which are in the way of accepting this position—for instance, the similarity of cultural phenomena the world over and the questions of psychic unity and diffusion of culture. There is a good critique of the popular contemporary English diffusionist school, and finally a discourse on progress, with the result, as might be expected, that the difficulty of determining criteria looms very large as an obstacle.

Passing on to a consideration of the nature of savage society, Mr. Tozzer discusses some theories regarding the origin of society and surveys some of the causes which go to make up divergences in cultures. Is it race? Or environment? Or perhaps the social background itself? Clearly it is not the first or the second, as is seen after reading the results of all the investigations to date. Man, as Wissler remarked, is a culture-building animal; "man inherits some of the factors necessary to make a pattern—the warp alone is there to hold the fabric together; but the woof, the filling in of the pattern, is a product of man's invention . . . and quite apart from any innate characteristics he may have."

In his presentation of the crises in the life of the individual Mr. Tozzer is committed to an acceptance of van Gennep's theory that the various rites which mark the periods of stress and change in status of an individual's life are really "rites du passage"—attempts to make the going over from one period of life to another less fraught with danger than it otherwise would be. Here are mentioned birth, the change from childhood into adolescence, death, and burial, the important rite of marriage being reserved for an entire chapter on that ceremony and the general topic of the family. Mr. Tozzer says nothing in this connection which has not been said before, though perhaps his concise presentation of the very difficult subject of social organization may be recommended. At the same time it is difficult to understand why he plays at the game, too common among anthropologists, of standing up the outworn straw men of theories, already adequately refuted, merely for the pleasure of knocking them down again. After a final consideration of law, government, and ethics, there are several conclusions the gist of which may be stated as the conviction that it has yet to be proved that savage man is either essentially different from or inferior to us, or is possessed of a culture less well adapted to his needs than ours is to us. The book ends with an amusing account, based on freshman themes, of the superstitions of college freshmen—which offer striking proof that superstition is not confined to primitive folk.

MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS

The End of the Egmont Diary

Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont. Diary of the First Earl of Egmont (Viscount Percival). Vol. III, 1739-1747, with Appendices and Index. Edited by R. A. Roberts. London: H. M. Stationery Office.

THE publication of the Diary of the First Earl of Egmont is completed by the printing of this third volume from manuscripts in possession of The Historical Manuscripts Commission. While the first and second volumes extend over four and five years respectively, the third covers a longer period of nine years—from 1739 to 1747. It contains fewer pages, doubtless owing to the ill health and old age of the diarist. But its contents abate no jot in interest.

The main theme of the present volume, like that of the second, concerns the transactions of the Trustees of the Georgia Colony. The history of the province during these years is very fully set forth through the reports of officials, the letters of colonial residents, and the detailed conversations of numerous prominent persons who returned from Georgia to England. It is clear that this was a period of stress for the colony. There was danger, even, that the colony might be surrendered to Spain. Walpole appears to have regarded its retention as of no paramount importance, since he sought to place upon the Georgian Trustees the burden of establishing their title against the Spanish claims. They very justly replied that such a duty belonged properly to the government and not to "a set of private gentlemen." Although the trustees made persistent and successful endeavors to retain the colony, yet they had every reason to feel ill rewarded for the many years of disinterested effort they had exerted in behalf of the philanthropic enterprise involved in the founding of Georgia.

Still another danger to the colony at this time arose from the French, who had made peace with the Chickesaw Indians,

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heretofore friends of the British. In 1740 Egmont writes: "The French are now masters of the Mississippi River, and can join their forces from Quebec, so as at any time to make head against Carolina and Georgia, and drive both into the sea. . . . Colonel Bull has wrote for protection by the addition of more troops, and possibly this may turn out ill for Georgia; for, as Carolina is most favored, if it be resolved to send a regiment thither, the ministry may abandon Georgia to the Spaniards and order Oglethorpe's regiment to Carolina."

While the second volume of the Diary contained many valuable facts about John and Charles Wesley the third volume gives much interesting information concerning their successor, the great evangelist Whitefield. In the first entry of the 3rd of January, 1739, it is said of Whitefield that he goes to Oxford to be ordained priest. Thereafter he collects a considerable sum of money for a church at Ebenezer and an orphan house in Savannah. Stirring scenes follow upon his return in 1741 to Georgia. A year later he was back in England with new demands upon the Trustees. On this occasion he was summoned by the House of Commons as a witness of affairs in Georgia. His descriptions of the province in this volume are thus very full. Opinions varied greatly as to Whitefield's own success in Georgia, but there was no doubt of the views he held, as in his farewell sermon in Savannah he said that "the people there had only been sent to prepare the way for a better set of men."

This final volume is enriched, too, by literary references. A play of Cibber was damned the first night. Although on the second occasion the Prince was invited to save it, not a word could be heard for two acts owing "to such a scandalous noise of hissing, talking, and catcalling." Here is also a striking allusion of Addison: "Lilly, the perfumer at whose house Mr. Addison and the wits of that time used to meet, says that the 4 last verses Mr. Addison made shewed he was tired of life. They were as follows:

> Plagued by a vexatious wife,
> And tired of this packhorse life,
> I'll to the stable hie
> And slip my pack and die.

He married the Countess of Warwick, who always passed for a woman of small sense, but it is not known that she gave him any domestic chagrin."

An exhaustive index of 167 pages has been happily added to the third volume. Thus the rare material to be found in this unique chronicle of past times is rendered easily available to every reader.

BENJAMIN RAND

Books in Brief

Principles of Wage Settlement. By Herbert Feis. H. W. Wilson Company. $3.50.

Mr. Feis's book will prove valuable to teachers of labor economics in furnishing material illustrative of the many and intricate problems arising in wage disputes and their settlement. Mr. Feis has not arranged his cases in such a manner as to indicate development of thought or prevalent opinion. One feels that he has only half done his job. Cases of 1908, cases of 1923, cases from Australia, Great Britain, and America are all jumbled together. Moreover, the emphasis is overwhelmingly upon the wage principles enunciated by arbitration courts instead of those illustrated by collective action. The latter are far more significant, since the development of wage policies in the future must rest upon agreement of opinion between the two parties to the wage contract.

Family Welfare Work. By Sophonisba P. Breckenridge. The University of Chicago Press. $4.50.

This volume of selected case records is designed to serve as social data from which instructors of welfare work "will extract accepted principles of case work." It consists of exhaustive histories of maladjusted individuals in their voluntary or enforced contacts with medical, philanthropic, and psychiatric welfare agencies. It introduces the student to standardized practices whereby the feeble-minded, the ne'er-do-well, the unmarried mother, and the economic misfit are brought into harmony with their environment. A metropolitan community like Chicago affords diversified examples of typical and atypical cases; and, since the "case method" is a recognized form of instruction, a study of Miss Breckenridge's book should prove more informing than attendance upon lectures. But it may be questioned whether the "principles" deduced may not prove less sociological laws than generalizations of procedure.

Public Ownership. By Carl D. Thompson. Thomas Y. Crowell Company. $3.

Like many gospelers, Mr. Thompson has no propagandist purpose. He simply wants to present the facts of public ownership, but the miserable facts just insist on public ownership, of course; and if there are any facts that don't so insist, Mr. Thompson either doesn't see them or else, as in the Seattle street-car fiasco, explains them in terms of the private-ownership devil tricking the innocent public-ownership saint. It is not that Mr. Thompson wants to be unfair, but what a man sees naturally depends a good deal on what windows he looks out of. This book, then, is essentially a cyclopedia of facts favorable to public ownership all over the world, with arguments in favor of that policy. In the hands of a discriminating reader it may be very useful, despite the fact that it is uncritical and one-sided. It should be used as an antidote to the tons of private-ownership propaganda that pour weekly from the presses, particularly in connection with the major issue of the control of our future power systems. Compare Mr. Thompson's account of the Ontario Hydro-Electric, for example, with that found in the Murray-Flood Report, and you will never again be guilty of believing anything easily.

The Passing of the Phantoms: A Study of Evolutionary Psychology and Morals. By C. J. Patten. (Today and Tomorrow Series.) E. P. Dutton and Company. $1.

The purpose of this small book is to show in brief and sketchy fashion that mental traits, no less than physical, have had an evolutionary history, since the rudiments of memory, attention, and morality are discernible in the behavior of the lower animals. After citing embryological and anatomical facts that point toward man's relationship with lower forms of life, the author describes experiences with ants, gulls, cats, and horses which seem to him to demonstrate clearly the presence of psychic and moral qualities. He believes that even imagination and superstition must be ascribed in some degree to the horse which displays fear of a curiously moving object; and he finds in the dreams of dogs the germ of human animism and theology. Like Kropotkin, Patten lays great stress on "mutual aid" among animals, finding in this manifestation the beginnings of morality; but his observation that birds of prey are harmless and even jocund companions of the weak—once they are full fed—may strike one as bearing very dubious ethical connotations. The progress of mankind is traced through various forms of superstition and sectarianism until, at the end, the reader is invited to view modern man as consisting of two "orders"—the Superstitious and the Non-superstitious.

Memories of a Militant. By Annie Kenney. Longmans, Green and Company. $5.25.

This book is a vivid personal history and interpretation of the militant suffrage movement, with an engaging autobiographical picture of the author's childhood and early struggles. It should be of interest to those who like auto-

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biography, to feminists, and to psychologists who care to study the development of radical movements and their leaders. It throws illuminating sidelights on the psychological reactions of audiences and crowds, and can be recommended as a suggestive textbook for militant movements. Annie Kenney was a Lancashire Lassie born into a working-class family. She and Christabel Pankhurst were the first women imprisoned for militancy, and during Miss Pankhurst's exile in Paris it was to Annie Kenney that she delegated her dictatorship. The author has a gift for relating vividly and swiftly the experiences through which she has lived, and possesses a power of reflection and penetrating analysis which is exceptional in an individual endowed as she is with the religious temperament capable of sustained fanatical devotion in action.

Architecture. By Alfred Mansfield Brooks. (Our Debt to Greece and Rome Series.) Boston: The Marshall Jones Company. $1.25.

To present in a manner simple, "popular," and concise a subject of such complex ramifications as the influence of classical architecture on that of today requires not only a complete knowledge of the architecture of Greece and Rome, not only a realization of the structural technic and the cultural and economic forces which determine forms today, but also an unerring instinct in the differentiating of form and spirit, the accidental and the significant. Professor Brooks seems constantly to mistake the relative values; he constantly and triumphantly points out the obvious as the important. To begin a consideration of Greek architecture with a hard and fast description of the numerical proportions of "the" Doric order is to commit again the sin of Vitruvius; it is an unjustifiable simplification that gives at once a totally wrong impression of Greek artistic genius. Similarly of the examples Professor Brooks chooses; we believe that Ictinus, the architect of the Parthenon, might understand the Hotel Shelton, but at the sight of Grant's Tomb he would feel only nausea.

Gambrinus and Other Stories. By Alexandre Kuprin. Translated from the Russian by Bernard Guilbert Guerney. Adelphi Company. $2.

No one in American literature has done the saloon as Kuprin has done the beer hall in "Gambrinus," wherein sailors and thugs and bums gyrate in a thick fog of stale beer and riotous orgies and sentimental songs. It is a splendid and soul-rousing epic. All of Kuprin's immense vigor and love of life and boisterous irony are gathered into a sustained rhythm and a hymn of life celebrated by dancing tars and sociable burglars.

Essays in the Romantic Poets. By Solomon Francis Gingerich. The Macmillan Company. $2.25.

The studies in this volume have the single aim of tracing in the major poets of the romantic age the pervasive presence of the doctrine of necessity which came to them as a heritage from the eighteenth century. They shed a good deal of light on the development of thought in Coleridge and Wordsworth and on the conflict of ill-assimilated systems in Shelley. These men had a conscious philosophic aim in their poetry, which in certain of its aspects will stand some heavy-handed analysis. When applied to Byron's unconfined aspirations, Professor Gingerich's method is rather trifling. To dwell elaborately on the absence of a coherent philosophy where no one would suspect its presence argues a lack of humor on the part of the professor. But lack of humor, alas, is not the only thing that is wrong with this essay. It will give a regrettable opportunity to the cynics who believe that the art of writing is not an essential part of the equipment of a professor of English literature. It would require more than a page of the *Nation* to transcribe all the unidiomatic and contorted sentences of which Professor Gingerich is guilty. Let one or two suffice as examples: "As compared to other religionists Christians he considers hypocrites." "This grandeur is heightened by the fact that the setting of the story is the most rocky and cavernous and widely beautiful parts of the Alps Mountains, of which, for background and scenic effects, the poet takes full adantage."

Interesting Books of 1925

CHOSEN BY STUART CHASE

An American Tragedy. By Theodore Dreiser. Boni and Liveright.
Dark Laughter. By Sherwood Anderson. Boni and Liveright.
Arrowsmith. By Sinclair Lewis. Harcourt, Brace.
Bread and Circuses. By W. E. Woodward. Harpers.
Caravan. By John Galsworthy. Scribner's.
Thunder on the Left. By Christopher Morley. Doubleday, Page.
Fishmonger's Fiddle. By A. E. Coppard. Knopf.
The Monkey Puzzle. By J. D. Beresford. Bobbs-Merrill.
The Constant Nymph. By Margaret Kennedy. Doubleday, Page.
Catherine the Great. By Katharine Anthony. Knopf.
John Keats. By Amy Lowell. Houghton Mifflin.
Rebel Saints. By Mary Agnes Best. Harcourt, Brace.
Processional. By John Howard Lawson. Seltzer.
May Days. Edited by Genevieve Taggard. Boni and Liveright.
The Biology of Population Growth. By Raymond Pearl. Knopf.
The Phantom Public. By Walter Lippmann. Harcourt, Brace.
Behaviorism. By John B. Watson. People's Institute.
Influencing Human Behavior. By H. A. Overstreet. People's Institute.
Why We Behave Like Human Beings. By George A. Dorsey. Harpers.
The Case of Bituminous Coal. By Walton H. Hamilton and Helen R. Wright. Macmillan.
The Women's Garment Workers. By Louis Levine. Huebsch.
Jungle Days. By William Beebe. Putnam.
The Fight for Everest. By E. F. Norton. Longmans, Green.
North America. By J. Russell Smith. Harcourt, Brace.

Drama

Mid-Season

BY this time last year five plays, each definitely superior to anything which the present season has afforded, had been produced in New York. "A Man's Man," "Craig's Wife," and "Young Woodley" are, considered purely as dramatic literature, the best works of the year written in the English language; but though each of these has a considerable excellence of its own, none is marked by an originality of substance and tone comparable to that of "What Price Glory," "They Knew What They Wanted," or "Desire Under the Elms," and none constitutes an experiment in form like that so successfully carried through in "Processional." "Craig's Wife" depends largely upon its theatrical adroitness and "Young Woodley" depends largely upon a sort of topical interest, while "A Man's Man" is merely vivid naturalism of a thoroughly old-fashioned and unimaginative kind. Thus though each respectably maintains a not unimportant tradition neither carries forward to any appreciable extent the development of the American drama.

Yet such a development, and that in a definite direction, has actually begun, since, diverse as are their methods and temperaments, Messrs. O'Neill, Howard, Anderson, Stallings, and Lawson are alike in one respect: each is struggling to bring into contemporary dramatic literature that sense of largeness and that emotional lift which tended to disappear

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with the triumph of naturalism and which is so conspicuously absent from such a play as "A Man's Man." Each realizes, unconsciously at least, that some substitute must be found for the spiritual exaltation which old-fashioned romance communicated to those who were capable, as we are not, of accepting it; and each is, in his own way, modifying the realistic tradition with that end in view. Thus, for example, O'Neill's plays tend constantly to assume an almost mystic fervor, while the famous piece by Anderson and Stallings was not, to use the two words which once constituted the highest critical praise, merely "grimly realistic," for without sacrificing essential truth it had the exultant sweep of romance.

Thus far, however, neither of the writers mentioned has contributed anything to the current season worthy of his capacity, so that one must turn from the drama considered as literature to the art of the theater if one is to find current achievements of outstanding importance. The production of "The Dybbuk" at the Neighborhood Playhouse and the productions of "Lysistrata" and "Carmencita and the Soldier" by the Moscow company playing at the Jolson are very successful examples of the tendency to enrich the stage by means which are not primarily literary. Each depends upon a synthesis of aesthetic effects in which the spoken word is no more important than the various appeals to the eye made by a definitely non-realistic style of acting and a setting which aims rather to suggest a mood than to reproduce an actuality. Each makes its appeal to the emotions more directly than do those plays which approach them through the intellect, and each belongs to an art essentially different from that of the stage as the present generation has known it. At the Neighborhood Playhouse alone has this art found a permanent home in America, but it is undoubtedly destined, sooner or later, to play an important part in our dramatic history.

The only recent events which must be recorded are "The Song of the Flame" (Forty-fourth Street Theater), an elaborate operetta of admirable music, well staged and sung by an enormous company, and "Love and Death," a series of three pieces performed by the Moscow Art Theater Musical Studio at the Jolson. One of the three, "Cleopatra," is extremely fine.

I subjoin a list of the current offerings which seem to me most worth seeing:

"A Man's Man" (Fifty-second Street Theater).
"Craig's Wife" (Morosco Theater).
"Young Woodley" (Belmont Theater).
"The Dybbuk" (Neighborhood Playhouse).
Moscow Art Theater Musical Studio (Jolson Theater).
"Androcles and the Lion" (Klaw Theater).
"Arms and the Man" (Garrick Theater).

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

□ THEATER □

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□ LECTURES □

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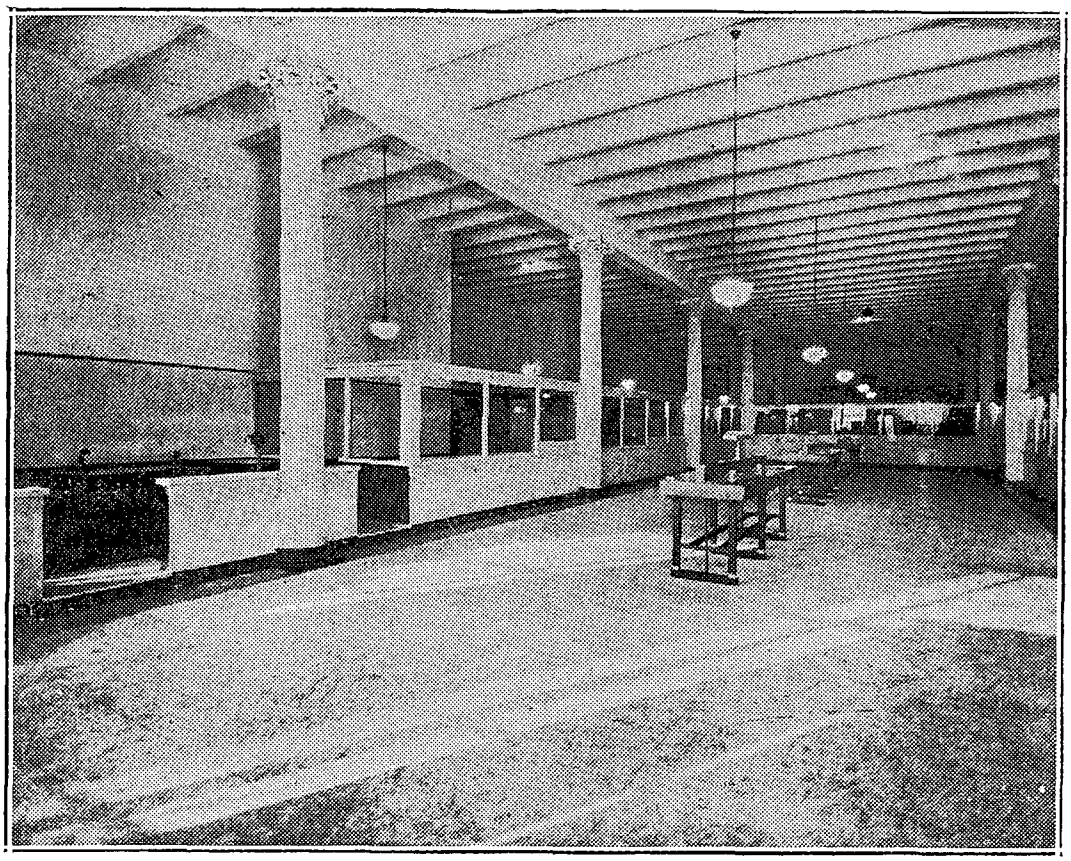

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International Relations Section

Serbia's Guilt at Serajevo

FROM the October number of *Die Kriegsschuldfrage*, published in Berlin, we take the following article by Dr. Friedrich R. von Wiesner concerning the famous Wiesner documents relative to Serbia's guilt or innocence in the matter of the Serajevo murder.

The commission appointed on 25th January, 1919, by the preliminary peace conference to ascertain who was responsible for the outbreak of the war and to fix the penalties to be imposed declared in its report to the conference that "the war was deliberately planned by the Central Powers . . . and was the result of acts which were committed with intention and premeditation in order to make war inevitable." The commission based this conclusion, in so far as the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand and the deductions drawn therefrom by Austro-Hungary are concerned, on the following "ascertained facts": "A crime committed by an Austro-Hungarian subject within the territory of the Dual Monarchy can in no way compromise Serbia. . . . Quite unexpectedly Austria dispatched to Serbia an ultimatum carefully worded in such a way as to make it impossible of acceptance."

In point 1 of its note of April 4, 1919, the American Delegation not only identified itself with these statements and with the deductions drawn by the commission, but even went so far as to declare that "the war had arisen in consequence of Austria-Hungary's deliberate intention to destroy this brave little country (i. e., Serbia)." In proof of this contention the American note adduced four diplomatic documents, the first of which is "a report drawn up by the Austro-Hungarian agent von Wiesner, who had been sent to Serajevo for the purpose of investigating the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand." This document is then quoted, the following passage being given as its essential part:

HERR VON WIESNER TO THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS IN VIENNA.

Serajevo, 13th July, 1914, 1:10 p. m.

There is nothing to show or even to lead one to conjecture the complicity of the Serbian Government or that it directed or prepared the crime or that it supplied the weapons used. On the contrary, there is evidence that would appear to show that such complicity is out of the question.

This is the much-quoted Wiesner document that runs through the whole of the war-guilt literature of the Entente, a document offering the most unanswerable and crushing proofs that the Austro-Hungarian Government, although in possession of this evidence concerning the innocence of the Serbian Government, nevertheless accused it of having done the very things which the report had declared unproved.

As far back as the middle of 1919, at a time, I must confess, when I had but a vague knowledge of the contents of the American note and its reference to my report, I pointed out that this quotation was incomplete and misleading and that the deductions drawn from it were incorrect. The Austrian Secretariat for Foreign Affairs in the more detailed Red Book published by it in the summer of 1919 issued the full text of my dispatch of July 13, 1914, containing fifty-one printed lines, of which the American note had published only four. Several foreign newspapers made use of this publication of my report to throw light upon the thoroughly wrong and misleading manner in which the Wiesner document had been exploited by the American Delegation. No reply to this statement has ever been published by the other side. As, however, the "document" in its American form and interpretation has been bequeathed from one writer to another like a disease and has had to serve as a flaming proof of the guilt of the Central Powers, I have on several occasions attempted to put an end to this method of adducing arguments as proofs. Such attempts have hitherto proved futile. For the Wiesner Document continues to crop up in its old form and with its old functions, not merely in propaganda literature but also in the works of serious writers, as, for example, in Asquith's recent book on "The Origin of the War," just as if no syllable had ever been uttered against its genuineness and finality. . . .

At the time of the Serajevo murder I was one of the experts on International and State Law employed in the Law Section of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Vienna and I may say that I had formerly been a judge and crown attorney and in these capacities had had to conduct important trials. After the murder of the Archduke I was transferred to the political section, in order to assist the political chief as legal expert. In this office among other work I had to examine and work up the notary evidence collected at Serajevo concerning the assassination, and more especially to state what were the definite results in the way of proof that had come to light in the course of the investigation. As it was difficult to sift this matter in Vienna and as various obscurities and gaps in the evidence were difficult to deal with by correspondence, to say nothing of the delay involved, I was ordered to proceed to Serajevo and get into direct touch with the authorities on the spot in order as speedily as possible to get a clear account of what had happened, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs being desirous of getting clear information as to the connection the murder and the murderers had with Serbia, its Government, its political institutions and other organizations, and the population, including both official and non-official circles. The chief difficulty to be overcome lay in the fact, first, that the military authorities and a part of the political administration were thoroughly convinced that the crime had been carried out with the knowledge and at the wish of the Serbian Government, and, secondly, that the Austrian authorities in question had no proofs to offer for this conviction, apart from their intuitive interpretation of the situation and some vague circumstantial evidence. As the authorities in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs refused to base the steps that were to be taken on the hypothesis of the complicity of the Serbian Government unless they had proofs of it, and as there was, moreover, a report to the effect that by getting into touch with the local authorities on the spot we should be able to furnish the Foreign Office with all the evidence that it appeared to be in need of, I was given the task of finding a way out of this dilemma between a convinced belief and its demonstrability. . . .

My task at Serajevo was therefore plainly mapped out for me. Bearing in mind the state of the corroborative evidence existing at the time I undertook my investigations, I had to inquire what connection, if any, could be discovered between the crime and Serbia. Limited as I was both as to time and material in drawing up my report—a limitation which, though obvious enough, is generally overlooked—it cannot be wondered at that my report has been misinterpreted in a very misleading fashion. Was it right that the American Delegation as late as 1919 should regard it as a proof of Serbia's innocence that I on 13th July, 1914, had, in the necessarily restricted scope of the evidence available, evidence that was incomplete wherever one turned, failed to discover any proof of Serbia's guilt?

I arrived at Serajevo on July 11, 1914, and in the three days and two nights that followed I went through the whole of the material that was laid before me, scrutinizing and discussing it. Certain obscure points and various gaps in this material were during this scrutiny elucidated and filled up as far as possible. I summed up the results of my investigations in my dispatch to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs dated 13th July. The text of my dispatch was as follows:

That Pan-Serbian propaganda is being carried on here from Serbia as a center, not only through the press but also through clubs and other organizations, and further that this is taking place with the encouragement as well as with the

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knowledge and approval of the Serbian Government is the conviction of authoritative circles here. The material that has been laid before me by the civil and military authorities as the basis on which they have formed their conviction may be characterized as follows: the material belonging to the period preceding the assassination offers no evidence that would lead me to suppose that propaganda was encouraged by the Serbian Government. There is, however, material which, though sparse, is sufficient to show that this movement with Serbia as a center was fostered by clubs with the toleration of the Serbian Government.

Investigation of the crime: There is nothing to show the complicity of the Serbian Government in the directing of the assassination or in its preparation or in the supplying of weapons. Nor is there anything to lead one even to conjecture such a thing. On the contrary, there is evidence that would appear to show that such complicity is out of the question. From the statements of the persons charged with the crime, it has been ascertained in a manner hardly controvertible that the crime was resolved upon in Belgrade and that it was prepared with the assistance of a Serbian state official named Ciganovic and of Major Tancosic, these two men providing the bombs, ammunition, and cyanide of potassium. The participation of Pribicevic has not been proved and the first reports on this point are due to a regrettable misunderstanding on the part of the police authorities investigating the case. It has been proved objectively and beyond all doubt that the bombs originally came from the Serbian army magazine at Kragujevac, but there is no evidence to show that they had only recently been taken from this magazine for the special purpose for which they were employed, as the bombs may have belonged to the war stores of the Comitatschis.

Judging by the statements made by the accused, we can scarcely doubt that Princip, Cabrinovic, and Grabez were secretly smuggled across the frontier into Bosnia with bombs and arms by Serbian organs at the instigation of Ciganovic. These organized transports were conducted by the Frontier Captains Schabatz and Loznica and carried out by organs of the excise guards. Even though it has not been ascertained whether these men were aware of the purpose of the journey, they must surely have assumed the mysterious nature of the mission. Other investigations made subsequent to the assassination throw light upon the organization of the propaganda of the Narodna Odbrana. The material obtained is valuable and can be turned to account. It has yet to be carefully examined. Investigations are being made with all speed.

In the event of intentions which prompted my departure still remaining unchanged, the demands could be still further extended:

(a) The suppression of cooperation of Serbian Government organs in the smuggling of persons and articles across the frontier.

(b) Dismissal of Serbian Frontier Captains Schabatz and Loznica, as well as of the excise guard organs concerned.

(c) Prosecution of Ciganovic and Tancosic.

I leave this evening, arriving Vienna Tuesday evening. Will come straight to the Ministry. It is necessary that I should supplement my remarks with verbal report.

If one compares this detailed text of my report, which takes account of different points of view, with the single paragraph torn out of its context by the American note, one is forced to admit that the American note is wrong in referring to this quotation as the "essential part" of my report. For it is just that part of my report which is not contained in the American note which is to be regarded as essential. Did the ultimatum delivered to Serbia accuse the Serbian Government of complicity in the assassination and of lending active assistance in carrying it out? If this were the case, my dispatch would really afford a proof of mala fides in the procedure of the Vienna Government. As it is, however, my report proves, on the contrary, that our Government, in spite of all the circumstantial evidence and grounds for suspicion telling against the Serbian Government, held strictly to the situation created by the actual evidence available at that time. Essential factors in my report were the discovery of the connection between the crime and Serbian officers, as well as all sorts of government officials, and furthermore the toleration of Serbian propaganda by the Serbian Government. And now let the reader take the text of the ultimatum and see whether it contains a single accusation which is not covered by facts that can be clearly proved; whether it makes a single demand that is not justified by the result of the investigations. The Geneva journal *La Feuille* clearly recognized this as far back as October, 1919, and summed up its opinion in the following terse sentences: "The sentence quoted by the American Delegation is not a confession on the part of Austria which can justifiably be used to show that Austria's official statement is given the lie by its own officials; this sentence is nothing more than a loyal utterance in the midst of accusations of the gravest nature, the only accusations that count, seeing that Austria-Hungary has nowhere accused the Serbian Government itself, but has brought its accusations only against certain Serbian functionaries and certain Pan-Slavistic organizations. These accusations, however, are formulated in detail in the Wiesner Document. The American Delegation has juggled them out of existence. One needs only to read H. von Wiesner's report to see that, far from being in opposition to the steps taken at such a late hour by the Vienna Government, the report is in reality the very basis of the action taken by the Vienna Government and contains the essential elements of this action. When compared with the arbitrary quotation cited by the American Delegation, von Wiesner's report shows that this famous commission has, to put it bluntly, falsified the sense of it by dubbing a few sentences arbitrarily torn out of their context 'the essential part' of the report, while at the same time suppressing the main part of the report, which was identical with the Austrian standpoint." . . .

Be this as it may, a certain suspicion rests upon the American Delegation of having, either consciously or carelessly, made use of a document which was a gross falsification for the purpose of supporting its argument. It is accordingly in the interest not only of truth but also of the prestige of the American Delegation that the following questions should receive a clear answer:

1. From what source did the American Delegation derive its knowledge of my report from Serajevo dated 13th July, 1914, a report which, as the American note says, was in this note quoted for the first time?

2. In what form did the American Delegation receive this report? In the original draft or only in an extract? If the latter was the case, what was the context? Was the text received by the delegation in German or was it in some other language? If not in German, in what language?

3. Did the American Delegation, supposing it received only an extract from the report, take any steps to make itself acquainted with the whole document? If so, what information did it receive on the point? . . .

These questions, it is true, can receive an authentic answer only in America, for the documents of the American Delegation must still be in existence. They are documents which would clear up this matter beyond a doubt. Moreover, to the best of my knowledge, both members of the delegation, Messrs. Robert Lansing and James Brown Scott, are still living.

It would be welcomed as a distinct step forward if these questions could be solved. It would then be explained how it was that the American Delegation came to base their note upon a document the sense and purpose of which have been distorted by shortening it, with the result that it now appears to prove the exact contrary of what it was originally intended that it should prove.

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Contributors to This Issue

HENDRIK VAN LOON'S latest book is "Tolerance."

JOHN A. HOBSON, British economist and author, is a contributing editor of *The Nation*.

DORIS STEVENS was active in the National Woman's Party's campaign for suffrage, and described her experiences in the book "Jailed for Freedom."

SILAS BENT was formerly associate editor of the *Nation's Business*.

FRANK R. KENT, vice-president of the Baltimore *Sun*, is sending *The Nation* biweekly letters from Washington.

LAURA RIDING GOTTSCHALK is an American poet, now in Egypt.

WILLIAM MACDONALD, formerly associate editor of *The Nation*, is lecturer in American history at Yale University.

MARYA ZATURENSKA contributes verse to current periodicals. She is a native of Kiev, Russia.

MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS is lecturer in anthropology at Columbia University.

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